de natione eorū·

da fili᷒ ebba· tenuit regiones in sinistrali parte
brittanniç· id: umbri maris· & regnauit annis
duodecī· & iunxit dinguayrdi guurth berne-
ich·

unc dutigirn· in illo tempore fortit̄ dimica-
bat contra gentē anglorū· Tunc talhaern
tat aguen in poemate claruit· & neirin· & ta-
liessin· & bluchbard· & cian qui uocat̄ gue-
inth guaut· simul uno tempore in poema-
te brittannico claruer̄·

ailcunus magn᷒ rex ap̄ brittones regna-
bat· id: in regione guenedotę quia at-
auu᷒ illi᷒ id: cunedag· cū filiis suis· quorū
numer᷒ octo erat· uenerat p̄us de parte si-
nistrali id: de regione que uocat̄ manau
guotodin centū quadraginta sex annis
antequā mailcun regnaret· & scottos
cū ingentissima clade expuler̄ ab istis re-
gionib; & nusquā reuersi sunt iterū ad ha-
bitandū·

dda fili᷒ ida regnauit annis octo·
edric fili᷒ adda regnauit quattuor
annis· Deoric fili᷒ ida regnauit septē
annis· Friodolguald regnauit sex

Brit. Mus. Harl. MS. 3859, *fol.* 188*b*, *ll.* 1-25.

Y Cymmrodor.

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TALIESIN.

BY

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EDITORIAL NOTE.

"TALIESIN" BY SIR JOHN MORRIS-JONES.

THE Council of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion feel great satisfaction in presenting to the members of the Society this important contribution to the study of Welsh Literature. Originally it was intended to be a comparatively short review of one of Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans's valuable reproductions of Early Welsh Texts, but the Editor of the Society's publications was fortunate enough to induce the Author to give to the world (in addition to his criticism of Dr. Evans's theories) the result of many years' close study of some of the earliest existing specimens of Welsh Poetry. It is not for us to praise the very great service thus rendered to Wales, to its language, and its history, by Sir John Morris-Jones We have only to express the deep sense of gratitude which will be felt by every lover of literature, and especially by every member of the Cymmrodorion Society, for the unselfish and unremunerated labour that has added an invaluable treasure to our store of knowledge. For the addition of a helpful Index to the Author's work we are much indebted to his daughter, Miss Rhiannon Morris-Jones of the University College, Bangor. The Editor desires to add that beyond securing the production of the work, in the manner indicated, his assistance has been merely nominal.

On behalf of the Council, E. VINCENT EVANS,

Hon. Secretary and Editor.

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Taliesin.

By J. MORRIS JONES, M.A.,

Professor of Welsh at the University College of North Wales.

Tradition is now generally admitted to be worthy of more respect than was paid to it in the nineteenth century. When it is not the obvious product of popular etymology it usually contains some element of truth. And it may carry its message from a very remote age. At Mold there stood a cairn called Bryn yr Ellyllon. "It was believed to be haunted; a spectre clad in golden armour had been seen to enter it. That this story was current before the mound was opened is a fact beyond dispute. In 1832 the cairn was explored. Three hundred cartloads of stones were removed, and beneath them was a skeleten 'laid at full length, wearing a corslet of beautifully-wrought gold, which had been placed on a lining of bronze.'"[1] The "corslet" is at the British Museum, but it is now stated to be "a peytrel or brunt for a pony".[2] It is, however, "obvious that before a warrior would decorate his horse with the precious metal, he had doubtless satisfied his own personal needs in this direction".[3] Here then we

[1] E. Sidney Hartland, *Ethnographical Survey of the United Kingdom.* p. 6, citing Boyd Dawkins, *Early Man in Britain*, p. 431.

[2] *A Guide to the Antiquities of the Bronze Age* (in the Brit. Mus.), p. 149.

[3] Ibid., p. 150.

have "evidence of a tradition which must have been handed down from the prehistoric iron age—that is, for more than two thousand years ".[1] This is a purely local example; but more general traditions are not less likely to be based on fact. The tradition of the Irish that their ancestors came to Ireland direct from the continent has been vindicated by Zimmer against the dominant theory of the last century that they came across Britain.[2] This theory was first propounded by Edward Lhuyd;[3] it was adopted by Theophilus Evans, who quoted in its support a vague tradition about the presence of the Irish in Britain.[4] The existence of such a tradition in the seventeenth century is confirmed by a statement in Gibson's *Camden*, 1695, p. 670, "that 'tis a common tradition amongst" the inhabitants of the hilly districts of Carnarvonshire, Brecknock and Radnorshire, "that the Irish were the ancient Proprietors of their Country ".[5] That is a fact; but it does not in any way prove Lhuyd's theory, for those Irish had come over from Ireland.[6] Here, then, is a fairly wide-spread tradition that must have been handed down from about the sixth century. Tradition is thus one of our data, to be accounted for and interpreted. Where there is no other apparent reason for it, it may well be what it seems to be—a popular account of what once took place; and where more reliable data are scarce it may be of value in directing inquiry and confirming conclusions.

Among the most persistent of the Welsh traditions is

[1] Hartland, loc. cit.

[2] *Auf welchem Wege kamen die Goidelen vom Kontinent nach Irland?* 1912, p. 31, *et passim*; see H. Gaidoz in the *Revue Internationale de l'Enseignement*, 1917, pp. 104-114.

[3] *Archæologia Britannica*, 1707, At y Kymry, pp. [xvi-xviii].

[4] *Drych y Prif Oesoedd* (1740), Reprint, 1902, pp. 11, 12.

[5] *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, p. 131.

[6] H. Zimmer, *Nennius Vindicatus*, 1893, pp. 89-91.

that which tells us that a group of famous bards, of whom Taliesin was the chief, flourished during the period of the struggle between Briton and Saxon in the sixth century. If it be objected that this is not a genuine but a spurious tradition based upon a memorandum in the Nennian additamenta, one may reply that the reverse is the case, and that the memorandum is based upon a form of the tradition. For the Welsh tradition is not a reproduction of the memorandum; the memorandum records an early North British variant of it. The sixth century bards of Welsh tradition are Taliesin, Aneirin, Myrddin and Llywarch Hên; those of the memorandum are Talhaern, Taliessin, Néirin, Bluchbard and Cian. The names Taliesin and Neirin are common to both; the Welsh and Nennian variants overlap but do not coincide, which proves their mutual independence and points to both being genuine. The tradition as reflected in Welsh literature bears all the marks of genuineness. It is not advocated or explained like a new theory or discovery; it is taken for granted as common knowledge. Thus in the oldest Welsh copy of the Laws (the Black Book of Chirk), when reference is made to an expedition led by Rhūn ap Maelgwn, it is simply stated that Taliesin composed an *englyn* on the occasion.[1] There is no mention of the date, or even of the century. It is not explained that Taliesin was a contemporary of Rhūn, it is only implied. The tradition is not superimposed on the subject matter of Welsh literature; it is a substratum which underlies it. Moreover, the conditions for handing down such a tradition were favourable. The bards formed an important body whose status was acknowledged; their privileges and duties are defined in the Laws of Hywel: the

[1] *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales,* 1841, i, p. 104.

household bard is the eighth officer of the Court;[1] the chief bard is to sit next to the judge, and to lodge with the Heir Apparent.[2] Bardism was one of the three professions (the other two being scholarship and smithcraft) for which no serf was to be trained without his lord's permission;[3] it was obviously an ancient institution when the Laws were compiled, and no break in its continuity is at all probable between the sixth and the tenth century. Part of a bard's training consisted in committing to memory the works of the ancients. The recitation of this traditional poetry formed an important feature of bardic contests; and for this purpose certain poems attributed to the bards of the sixth century (and doubtless others) had fixed values attached to them. Of this there are indications in the thirteenth century Book of Taliesin, in which the titles of some of the poems are followed by their values; thus (pp. 30-40):

Glaswawt Taliessin. xxiiii. a tal.	Kadeir Kerrituen. ccc.
Kadeir Taliessin. xxiiii.	Kanu y gwynt. ccc. a tal.
Kadeir Teyrnon. ccc.	Kanu y med. xxiiii.

Kanu y cwrwf. xxiiii.

The expression "xxiiii. a tal" means literally '24 (is) what it is worth'; similarly "ccc. a tal"; in the other cases the figure only is given. The matter is made quite clear in a note which follows the third of the *gorchaneu* (epilogues?) appended to the Gododdin in the Book of Aneirin (p. 28):

> Eman e tervyna gwarchan kynvelyn. Canu un canuawc a dal pob awdyl or gododin herwyd breint yng kerd amrysson. Tri chanu a thriugeint a thrychant a dal pob un or gwarchaneu. Sef achaws yw am goffau ene gorchaneu rivedi e

[1] *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, 1841, i, p. 32.

[2] Ibid., p. 74

[3] Ibid., p. 78.

> gwyr a aethant e gatraeth. Noc a dele gwr mynet y emlad heb arveu, ny dele bard mynet e amrysson heb e gerd honn. Eman weithyon e dechreu gwarchan maelderw. Talyessin ae cant ac a rodes breint idaw. kemeint ac e odleu e gododin oll ae dri gwarchan yng kerd amrysson.

That is:

> Here ends the *gorchan* of Cynvelyn. Each stanza of the Gododdin is worth a song of one measure [*i.e.* of one unit] according to privilege in song-contest. Each of the *gorchaneu* is worth 363 songs [*i.e.* units], the reason being that the number of the men who went to Catraeth is commemorated in the *gorchaneu*. [More] than a man should go to battle without arms, no bard should go to a contest without this song [in his repertory]. Here now begins the *gorchan* of Maelderw. Talyessin composed it, and gave it privilege equal to [that given] to all the stanzas of the Gododdin and its three *gorchaneu* in song-contest.

The ancient poetry which thus formed part of the bard's stock-in-trade was called *hengerdd*, as seen in the following triad from the Red Book of Hergest, col. 1142.

> Tripheth a beir y gerdawr vot yn amyl. kyfarwydyt ystoryaeu. a bardoniaeth. a *hengerd*.

'Three things that cause a minstrel to be abundant (well-equipped): lore of stories, and [the art of] poetry, and ancient verse.' In the above quotations we obtain a glimpse of the activities of the medieval bards. They formed an organized body, not only fitted to be the vehicle of tradition, but actually having this as one of its recognized functions. Their *hengerdd*, or ancient verse, included poems attributed to Taliesin and Aneirin: "*Hengerdd Talyessin*, the ancient song of Taliesin," says Phylip Brydydd, "was new for nine times seven years" (*Myv. Arch.* [2]259a); and Dafydd Benfras prays for a muse "to sing a panegyric like Aneirin of old on the day when he sang the Gododdin" (do. 217a). The tradition, of which the bards were thus the special custodians, was generally

accepted in the middle ages, and handed down to modern times.

The oldest examples of *written* Welsh are found between the lines and in the margins of Latin manuscripts. They consist of (1) glosses, namely, single words and short phrases explanatory of the Latin, and generally inserted immediately above the words explained, and (2) short memoranda and fragments of prose and verse, written in margins and blank spaces. They date from the eighth or ninth to the eleventh century; and their language is called Old Welsh. They are written in the so-called Hiberno-Saxon character, and their orthography differs widely, but regularly, from that of Medieval Welsh. Medieval scribes, copying Old Welsh, converted its orthography into that of their own day, except when they failed to understand it, in which case they transcribed it mechanically. Complete books in Old Welsh must have existed; but not one has survived. The literature recorded in them is to be found, if at all, only in later copies.

The oldest extant manuscript written entirely in Welsh is the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, which dates from about the end of the twelfth century. It contains verse only; two poems are by the twelfth century bard Cynddelw; but most of the pieces and collections of stanzas and *englynion* are anonymous. The first poem is set out in the form of a dialogue between Myrddin and Taliesin. The rhymes prove it to be a late production.[1] There is

[1] See my *Welsh Grammar*, 1913, p. 73. The suggestion (*Black Book*, ed. J. G. Evans, p. 161) that two dialogues have been run into one by turning over two leaves of the copy is mistaken. The "change of metre at 4·7" is a change from lines of 9 syllables to a *cyhydedd hir* of 19. But *lines of 9 immediately follow*, so that there is no abrupt total change as the above assumption implies. The two measures are often linked together, and in combination form a variety of the metre called *gwawdodyn*.

another dialogue in which Taliesin figures, his companion being a person of the name of Ugnach vab Mydno. The collection of stanzas called *Hoianeu* and *Afallenneu*, commonly attributed to Myrddin, deal mostly with events of the twelfth century, though some of them are concerned with Rhydderch Hael and Gwenddoleu, the northern kings with whom tradition associated Laloecen[1] or Myrddin Wyllt. These stanzas may be old, and, in any case, probably form the type after which the others, which belong to the large class of spurious prophecies, were modelled. The manuscript also contains a stanza, p. 46, found in the Book of Taliesin, p. 44, and several *englynion* usually attributed to Llywarch Hên.

The *Book of Aneirin*, a manuscript of about the middle of the thirteenth century,[2] contains the Gododdin and its *gorchaneu*, referred to above. The Gododdin appears as a string of stanzas, evidently recovered from oral tradition in which the sequence and relation of the parts had been lost. The last five pages of the manuscript contain a number of stanzas in Old Welsh orthography, only slightly modified here and there; the scribe resorted to literal transcription owing to the difficulty and corrupt state of the text in his original. A few of these stanzas correspond to stanzas in later spelling in the body of the book; but the divergences between them show that the originals must have differed, and suggest that the later readings are in some cases mere conjectures. It is, however, clear

[1] Joceline's Life of St. Kentigern, xlv, in *Historians of Scotland*, vol. v, p. 241.

[2] The date, "*circa* 1350", in the *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, ii, 91, is an error, corrected to "*circa* 1250" in a footnote to p. iv of the Introduction. Such an error in reporting *the* most important fact in the volume ought at least to have been corrected in large type in a prominent position, and not hidden away without even an apology, as if it were a matter of no account.

that the Gododdin was written down in the Old Welsh period, and that the text was then uncertain, which implies that it had been handed down from a still earlier period. The *gorchaneu* seem to show that additions were made to the original poem; and in oral transmission interpolations from these were natural, and may explain the references in the poem in its present state to Aneirin's death and to Dyfnwal Frych who died in 642.[1] The evidence of the manuscript then, so far as it goes, is not inconsistent with the tradition as to the date of the original poem.

The *Book of Taliesin* is a manuscript of the late thirteenth century containing a collection of poems rightly or wrongly attributed to Taliesin.

The *Red Book of Hergest*, in the Library of Jesus College, Oxford, is a manuscript of the late fourteenth century containing a large quantity of Welsh prose and verse. Most of the poetry is the work of medieval bards, written in the standard medieval metres, each poem being duly ascribed to its author. The rest consists of what passed at the time as ancient verse. The first poem in the Book of Taliesin, which is there incomplete owing to the first leaf having been lost, is found complete in the Red Book. Another poem professing to be by Taliesin (*Anrec Urien*, Skene, *F.A.B.*, ii, 291) is found in the detached portion of the White Book of Rhydderch[2] in Peniarth MS. 12, and it is possible that this, and one or two other poems found here may have been included in the lost portion of the Book of Taliesin. The Red Book also contains the *Gwasgargerdd* and *Kyvoesi*, *englynion* of prophecies (after the events) pretending to be by Myrddin, and a large collection of the *englynion* usually attributed to Llywarch Hên.

[1] Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, ii, 360.

[2] *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language*, i, 324.

Most of the *englynion*, especially the last-mentioned, are of the forms which are called in the Red Book Grammar (col. 1129) *o'r hen ganiad*—of ancient composition, and are actually exemplified in Old Welsh writing of the ninth century in the Cambridge Juvencus codex.

Some stray poems and stanzas attributed to the early bards are found in other medieval manuscripts: thus in Peniarth MS. 3, part ii, written about 1300,[1] are found the *Kyvoesi*, *Hoianeu* and *Afallenneu*, attributed to Myrddin; and the detached portion of the White Book (early fourteenth century) contains the *Gwasgargerdd Vyrddin* in addition to the Taliesin poem mentioned above.[2]

There are, of course, many later copies of the poems; the bards continued to read and study them, and seem to have become owners of some of the old copies: the Book of Aneirin belonged in the fifteenth century to Gwilym Tew and Dafydd Nanmor according to entries in the margins of p. 20. In the seventeenth century, when bardism as a profession was rapidly declining, the antiquary Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt (1592-1666) brought together almost all the most valuable Welsh manuscripts then in existence, except the Red Book of Hergest; he secured the Black Book of Carmarthen, the Black Book of Chirk, the Book of Aneirin, the Book of Taliesin, the White Book of Rhydderch, and many others; in the whole history of collections and collectors it may be doubted whether such a clean sweep as this of all the choicest material was ever made by one man.[3] The Hengwrt Library with some

[1] *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language*, i, 303.

[2] Ibid., 325. The text of the detached portion of the White Book was printed by Phillimore in *Y Cymmrodor*, vii, pp. 123-154.

[3] It is not suggested that Robert Vaughan had no agents or helpers. Lewis Morris in a list of over forty manuscript collections known to him says that the Hengwrt collection was "made by Rob: Vaughan and his friends John Jones of Gilli [*sic*, read Gelli] Lyfdy and William Morris of Cefn y Braich."—*Report on MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, ii, p. 838.

additional volumes became the Peniarth Library, which is now, by Sir John Williams's noble gift to the nation, accessible to students in the National Library of Wales. But the Book of Aneirin had disappeared at the end of the eighteenth century from the Hengwrt collection;[1] it was bought "from a person at Aberdâr", became the property of Carnhuanawc, and then of Sir Thomas Philipps, and is now safe in the Free Library at Cardiff.[2] The term *Cynfeirdd*, by which the bards of the period from the sixth to the eleventh century are now known, seems to be due to the happy inspiration of Robert Vaughan, who transcribed their reputed works in a volume which he called "Y Kynveirdh Kymreig".[3]

In the eighteenth century Lewis Morris of Anglesey (1701-1765) and his brothers Richard (1703-1779) and William (1705-1763), who by unaided application had acquired considerable proficiency in most of the learning, literary and scientific, which was current in their day, had in the literature and antiquities of Wales the most absorbing of their many intellectual interests. They copied and collected manuscripts, they corresponded with each other and with Welsh and English literati, and they instructed and encouraged younger bards and scholars such as Goronwy Owen and Evan Evans. Richard and Lewis "were the founders of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion in 1751, and through the means of the Society, and by their own personal efforts they succeeded in interesting all classes of Welshmen in the history and

[1] "Within the last 20 years," says Sharon Turner in his *Vindication*, 1803, p. 29, adding, "I will presume that it has been only borrowed, and that it will be honourably returned to the collection at Hengurt".

[2] *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, ii, p. 91.

[3] *Arch. Brit.*, 1707, p. 258.

literature of their native land".[1] Evan Evans (1731-1789), whom the Morrises called "Ieuan Brydydd Hir",[2] by which sobriquet he is generally known, and not by his own bardic name of Ieuan Fardd ac Offeiriad, corresponded with them regularly, as well as with Gray, Percy, and others. He explored the little-known field of Welsh manuscripts, and communicated his discoveries to the Morrises. Lewis Morris, writing to Edward Richard of Ystrad Meurig on August 5th, 1758, tells him that he has at his elbow "no less a man than Ieuan Brydydd Hir, who hath discovered some old MS. lately, that nobody of this age ever as much as dreamed of; and this discovery is to him and me as great as that of America by Columbus. We have found an Epic Poem in the British called *Gododin*".[3] Later, Lewis Morris acquainted himself with the poetry of the Cynfeirdd in the Hengwrt Library itself, and "had a design of printing many, or most of those ancient poems".[4] Evans's *Specimens of the Poetry of the Ancient Welsh Bards*, including his *De Bardis Dissertatio*, was published by Dodsley in 1764. "It was first thought of, and encouraged," he says in his Preface, "some years before the name of Ossian was known in England." During the greater part of his life Evans spent much of his time in copying Welsh manuscripts; he transcribed all the works of the old and medieval bards, together with the Bruts and other prose works, which he hoped, in vain, to see published. In great penury in his last days, he handed over his transcripts to Paul Panton of Plas Gwyn, Pentraeth, Anglesey, in return for an annuity of £20 a

[1] J. H. Davies, *The Letters of Lewis, Richard, William and John Morris*, vol. i, 1907, p. xx.

[2] Ieuan Brydydd Hir is the name of a fifteenth century bard of Merioneth.

[3] *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, ii, p. 809.

[4] *Myv. Arch.*,[1] i, p. xiii.

year.[1] The scheme which he had projected was, however, carried out later by Owen Jones (*Owain Myfyr*), who edited in collaboration with William Owen [Pughe] and Edward Williams (*Iolo Morganwg*), and published at his own expense, the *Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales* in three large octavo volumes, the first two of which appeared in 1801, and the third in 1807. The editors had access to Lewis Morris's collection of manuscripts containing "chiefly ancient poetry", and they dedicate the first volume to Paul Panton, *fils*, for "his liberality in lending his manuscripts" which they acknowledge (vol. i, pp. xiii, xiv) to consist mostly of transcripts by Evan Evans; they describe Evans's labours at some length, mentioning his intention of "putting a part of what he had thus collected to the press".[2] The first volume of the *Myvyrian* contains poetry only, and includes all the reputed poems of the Cynfeirdd, and practically all the known work of the medieval bards. The reproduction, is, for the time, a very creditable performance; it evidently follows with care the copies used, and of most of our medieval poetry it remains to this day the only available printed text. The whole work was reprinted in one bulky volume by Gee of Denbigh in 1870.

[1] *Enwogion Cymru*, 1870, pp. 544, 806; *Myv. Arch.*,[1] i, p. xiv; *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, ii, part 3, page v.

[2] It seems due to them to mention these things in the face of the charge brought against them by Mr. Gwenogvryn Evans in the *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, ii, part 3, p. vi, that they were "willing to accept credit for the work of another". The statement that "it is a pity that the name of Evan Evans was omitted from the title page" is most unjust, suggesting, as it does, that their own names appear there, which is not the case. They printed old poetry, which must be from copies made by *somebody*, and they acknowledge that many of those used by them had been made by Evan Evans, just as Evans himself acknowledges that most of his *Specimens* are taken from the manuscripts of William Morris.—*Spec.* Reprint, p. 90.

The *Myvyrian* text of the Cynfeirdd, which was printed from late copies, was superseded in 1868 by the appearance of Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, the second volume of which contains a tolerably accurate reproduction of the text of the Black Book of Carmarthen, the Book of Aneirin, the Book of Taliesin, and of the old poetry in the Red Book of Hergest. In recent years Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans has published the whole of the first three both in photographic facsimile and in printed reproductions which attain the highest degree of accuracy that seems humanly possible.[1]

The first substantial contribution to the discussion of the authenticity of these poems was *A Vindication of the Genuineness of the Ancient British Poems of Aneurin, Taliesin, Llywarch Hen and Merdhin, with Specimens of the Poems*, by Sharon Turner, F.A.S., 1803. The author had cited the Welsh bards in his *History of the Anglo-Saxons*; and the *Vindication* was called forth by an attack on that work in the *Critical Review* of January 1800, and by the pronouncements of Pinkerton and Malcolm Laing against the genuineness of the poems. Sharon Turner effectively exposes his critics' ignorance of the subject, but he is more interested in following up the inquiry which their strictures induced him to undertake. His *Vindication* is a sane and temperate statement of the case. His arguments, disentangled, and summarised as briefly as possible, are as follows:—

1.—British bards existed in the sixth century. This is proved, among other things, by the invective of Gildas, who accuses the British kings of listening only to "their

[1] I have discovered only one actual error in these reproductions: *waeawawr* for *waewawr*, B.A., 9·18. In the Black Book, 51·9, two *i*'s are printed as *u* with two accents above it, which represents the *appearance* of the original, but the correct reading is *ii*.

own praises . . . from the mouths of scoundrel proclaimers" pp. 105-6.

2.—The Nennian memorandum clearly names Taliesin among the bards of the sixth century; and Turner, following Evans, correctly takes the misreading Nuevin to mean Aneirin, and supposes Bluchbard to be Llywarch, pp. 116-7.

3.—He quotes from the bards of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries numerous passages which show that they knew of Taliesin, Aneirin, Myrddin and Llywarch as bards of a past age, and were acquainted with their reputed works, pp. 40-82. Geoffrey of Monmouth in a Latin poem makes Taliesin and Myrddin contemporaries of Gildas, p. 123.

4.—Giraldus says that the bards in the twelfth century had "ancient and authentic books written in Welsh", p. 142. The memory of Myrddin's prophecies had been retained among them, "verbally by many, in writing by very few", p. 147. They had added to the genuine ones many of their own; but Giraldus could distinguish between the genuine and the spurious by the language and style, p. 147.

5.—Manuscripts of the twelfth and two succeeding centuries, containing the reputed works of these bards, have been preserved, pp. 25-30. The non-existence of earlier manuscripts is satisfactorily accounted for: "Time and accident consume MSS. as well as buildings and men. Old copies decay or are lost, and new ones succeed," p. 21. Wales was peculiarly exposed to the ravages of invaders, p. 24. The value and importance of *old* MSS. is a comparatively late discovery; MSS. were preferred for other considerations than age, p. 22. (He might have added that Old Welsh manuscripts were written in a difficult orthography and obsolete script.) "It is therefore a matter of

pure chance that any ancient MS. of a book has descended to us," p. 22. Lack of ancient MS. authority is not peculiar to these poems: "Of the numerous Greek and Latin works, which we possess, how few are there of which very ancient MSS. can be adduced!" p. 21. We admit their genuineness although, if we examined the evidence for it, "we should find, that far as antiquity of MSS. was concerned, it is very slight", p. 22. In this respect therefore these Welsh poems stand on the same footing as most other ancient writings.

6.—Summing up the above evidence, Turner submits "that unless the internal evidence of these poems is very clearly and decisively hostile to their antiquity, no reasonable man can discredit their genuineness," p. 151. For our present purpose the internal evidence may be classified thus: the evidence of (*a*) the matter, (*b*) the versification, (*c*) the language.

(*a*) Under this head Turner maintains "That the subjects of this poetry could answer no purpose of interest in the twelfth century. That their subjects were the most unlikely of all others for a forger to have chosen. That Arthur is spoken of in a manner inconsistent with the supposition of forgery. That the subjects are such as, if genuine, might be expected from their real authors. . . . That their historical allusions are true," pp. 19-20, 151 ff.

(*b*) Rhyme is the most conspicuous feature of the versification. It had been objected that rhyme was unknown in Europe before the eighth century; Turner shows that it was practised in the fourth, pp. 250-254.

(*c*) "On the language of these bards, it is very favourable to the genuineness of these poems, that . . . they have not been found intelligible by many modern Welshmen. Evans . . . mentions this several times," p. 197.

This is the only point made by Turner under this head; and it is, of course, a substantial one, since it establishes some presumption of antiquity. But with the progress of linguistic science philological considerations have formed the chief obstacle to the acceptance of the view which he shows to be probable on other grounds. In a later section of this paper I propose to discuss the question whether these considerations are of such weight as to turn the scale decisively against all other evidence.

Turner knew, of course, as Giraldus knew in the twelfth century, that many poems attributed to these bards are later productions. He therefore gives a list of the poems which he considers genuine; those of Taliesin are: "The Poems to Urien, and on his battles. His dialogue with Merdhin. The Poems on Elphin. And his Historical Elegies," p. 33. He adds, "There are several others, however, especially of Taliesin, which may be genuine," p. 34.

Thomas Stephens, in his *Literature of the Kymry*, 1849, finds himself in general agreement with Turner's conclusions: "I regret", he writes, "being compelled to differ in opinion, respecting this [*Armes Prydein Vawr*] and the poems of Merddin, from the eminent historian and critic, to whose learning, intelligence, and candour, the literature of my native land is so greatly indebted; but it is a source of sincere gratification to reflect, that in nearly every other essential point, my own researches have tended to ratify his conclusions, as to the genuineness of most of the poems attributed to the early bards, Aneurin, and Llywarch, and many of those of Taliesin," p. 288. With respect to the last mentioned poems, he says that, as many of them "may upon most substantial grounds be shown to be genuine, it becomes of importance to distinguish between those which are, and those which may not

be of his production," p. 281. As the result of his own study of seventy-seven poems attributed to Taliesin, Stephens divides them into five classes, of which the first two are the following, p. 282 :—

Historical, and as old as the Sixth Century.

Gwaith Gwenystrad	Yspail Taliesin
Gwaith Argoed Llwyvain	Canu i Urien Rheged
Gwaith Dyffryn Gwarant	Dadolwch Urien Rheged
I Urien	I Wallawg
I Urien	Dadolwch i Urien
Canu i Urien	Marwnad Owain ap Urien

Doubtful.

Cerdd i Wallawg ap Lleenawg	Gwarchan Kynvelyn
Marwnad Cunedda	Gwarchan Maelderw
Gwarchan Tutvwlch	Kerdd Daronwy
Gwarchan Adebon	Trawsganu Cynan Garwyn

All the rest he relegates to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, dividing them into Romances, Predictive, and Theological Poems. The actual number of poems in his list is not 77, but 73; and many of these are not found in the Book of Taliesin, while only the fourth of the *gorchaneu* (Gorchan Maelderw) is attributed to Taliesin in the Book of Aneirin. In a series of articles which appeared subsequently in the *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 1851-3, Stephens added to the class of genuine poems three previously classed as doubtful and two others.

In 1853 Stephens wrote for the Abergavenny Eisteddfod a valuable treatise on the *Gododdin*, with text and translation, which was edited by Professor Powel, and published by the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion in 1888. In the historical illustrations and the Introductory Essay "he had on certain points," says the editor, "anticipated by a whole generation conclusions which have been subsequently drawn by other writers." Two poems of Taliesin are translated in the Essay, pp. 67, 73.

In 1858, D. W. Nash published his *Taliesin; or, the Bards and Druids of Britain.* The greater part of the work is devoted to the refutation of the druidical interpretation of the Cynfeirdd poems proposed by the Rev. Edward Davies, whose two volumes, *Celtic Researches*, 1804, and *The Mythology and Rites of the British Druids*, 1809, Nash rightly characterises as "monuments of misapplied learning", p. 7. Davies had embraced the fantastic theory of Jacob Bryant that all ancient mythology was derived from a corruption of revealed religion which took place after the Flood. It occurred to him that this grand idea must supply the key to the obscurities of ancient Welsh literature; he satisfied himself that druidism was a form of helio-arkite worship; that the bards cherished its doctrines in secret down to the middle ages; and that the works of the Cynfeirdd are full of helio-dæmonic lore and arkite mysteries. Now, to approach these poems with a preconceived theory is fatal; their language is so obscure and difficult that a person with a fixed idea, especially if his notions of Welsh inflexion and syntax are a little vague, is certain to discover in them exactly what he is looking for. Edward Davies looked for his mysteries, and found them; and his views gained such acceptance that it was perhaps necessary, even in the late fifties, to refute them. This task Nash accomplishes vigorously and successfully. The apparent good sense of his translations heighten by contrast the obvious nonsense of Davies's. The contrast is often more striking than it would be if that sense were the sense of the original; but in many cases Nash's renderings, when compared with the text, are even more ludicrous than Davies's own. Thus *Pawb i Adonai ar weryd Pwmpai*, rendered by Davies "We all attend on Adonai on the area of Pwmpai", which is literal except that "we" and "attend" are

supplied, is rendered by Nash "Every one of the idiots banging on the ground", p. 257. Not being restrained by any inconveniently exact knowledge of Welsh inflexions and word-formations, Nash plays fast and loose with them, and produces anything which seems to be sensible, and to fit the case. Thus *Unynt tanc gan aethant golluddion*, which means "They joined (*i.e.*, made) peace, for they had become weary" is translated by him "They were quiet whose entrails went (out of their wounds)",[1] p. 98. But with all the freedom he allows himself he does not always succeed in evolving any possible sense, though he is not in the least put out by that, for he has that naïve type of mind which naturally assumes that what it does not understand is mere silliness. For example, four lines referring to a cow, which mean "At mid-day it will be lowing, at midnight it will be boiling; it will be boiled on land, it will be eaten in ships", are rendered by him "On a fine day lowing, on a fine night boiling; in the land of the boiler the timid shall be in tranquility", with a footnote pointing out that "these lines, though unintelligible, are not more so than the prophecies of Merlin in Geoffrey", etc., p. 258. He never suspects that there may be a meaning which he has failed to discover. His positive contribution to the interpretation of the poems has been over-estimated; even Matthew Arnold was deceived by his plausibility. He renders, on the absurdest grounds, "Politeness is

[1] The *ll* in *go-lluddion* "rather weary" (compare *go-llwng*, etc.) should have obviated the possibility of its being even momentarily mistaken for *coluddion* "entrails". Nash could not, of course, be acquainted with the fact that the verb "to go" is used to mean "become" with *all* adjectives in Welsh as it is in English with some, *e.g.* "to go mad"; he could not therefore have guessed "had become weary"; and so he read *unynt* "joined" as if it were *oeddynt* "were", and made the noun *tanc* "peace" into an adjective "quiet".

natural, says the ape", and Matthew Arnold "can hardly doubt that Mr. Nash is quite right".[1]

The refutation of Davies's theories formed only part of Nash's purpose, which was to cast doubt on the authenticity of all the old Welsh poetry. He held that it was forged in the twelfth century or later. He is as intent on proving his theory as Davies was. Matthew Arnold is under no misapprehension with regard to this: "his determined scepticism about Welsh antiquity seems to me, however, to betray a preconceived hostility, a bias taken beforehand, as unmistakable as Mr. Davies's prepossessions".[2] His bias comes out most clearly when he is dealing with the historical poems, for here he seems half conscious that he cannot establish his contention. His treatment of the Gododdin is hesitating and uncertain; he seems almost to admit that the poem may be ancient, then suggests a qualification, and when you think he is about to come to a decision he goes off to something else, and leaves the decision in the air. Even when he deals with the historical poems of Taliesin, we have the admission that the corrupt state of one of them may arise "perhaps from the antiquity of the original songs, fragments of which have thus been orally preserved," p. 90; but the idea is not followed up. Having given his own translations of the poems he proceeds to show that they must be spurious by taking that which "bears the most apparently genuine character", namely *Gwaith Argoed Llwyfain*, and showing that it contains an anachronism which proves it late, pp. 119-120. This is done as follows: in the poem the Saxon chief appears and calls for hostages; two speeches follow—a reply by Owein ap Urien, and a call to his men by Urien himself. Owein's reply is to the effect

[1] *The Study of Celtic Literature*, popular ed. 1891, p. 32.
[2] Ibid., p. 28-9.

that "they will not give hostages, and Ceneu ap Coel would have suffered torture before he gave hostages". Nash puts only the first part of this speech in inverted commas, and pretends that the rest represents a speech by Ceneu ap Coel, who had long been dead. He gives a genealogical table to show that Owein was a descendant of Ceneu ap Coel in the fifth degree. But the obvious meaning of the passage is that Owein declares that he will not be unworthy of his ancestor; and in the translation in Sharon Turner's book *the whole speech is included in inverted commas*. It is therefore difficult to acquit Nash of the charge of disingenuousness brought against him by Skene (*F.A.B.*, i, 15). After this piece of special pleading, Nash goes on to say that "without venturing to decide that these Songs to Urien were not rewritten in the twelfth century from materials originally of the date of the sixth, and that there are no poetical remains in the Welsh language older than the twelfth century, we may nevertheless assert that the common assumption of such remains of the date of the sixth century has been made upon very unsatisfactory grounds", and to put the onus of proof on those who differ from him. He ends the chapter by stating that "the internal evidence, even of the so-called 'Historical Poems' themselves, is, in some instances at least, opposed to their claims to an origin in the sixth century", which Matthew Arnold calls "an unsatisfactory turn to give to the matter, and a lame and impotent conclusion to his chapter".[1] His lameness here is no doubt caused by a feeling that in his examination of these particular poems he has not found much to support his theory: indeed, he has found some facts which seem to run counter to it. But his "determined scepticism" was not to be shaken by a few facts, for it was too firmly

[1] *The Study of Celtic Literature*, popular ed., 1891, p. 48.

rooted in the *a priori* probabilities of the case. It was an attitude natural to him, and typical of the time. "It has been the mission of the nineteenth century," says Mr. Sainsbury, "to prove that everybody's work was written by somebody else, and it will not be the most useless task of the twentieth century to betake itself to more profitable inquiries".

The texts which appear in the second volume of *The Four Ancient Books of Wales* had been transcribed and printed some years before the appearance of the work in 1868, and Skene had obtained translations of the printed texts from two Welsh scholars: the Book of Taliesin was translated by the Rev. Robert Williams, and the other texts by the Rev. D. Silvan Evans. Most of the historical poems relate to the struggles between the Britons of the north and the men of Deira and Bernicia; and Skene, with the aid of the translations, examined them in the light of such information concerning the Northern kingdoms in that obscure period as can be gleaned from other sources, and made out a strong case for their substantial genuineness. He came to the conclusion that it was not till the seventh century that they "were brought into shape, and assumed a consistent form . . . . It is in the seventh century that I place these poems in their earliest consistent shape, and I do not attempt to take them further back", i, p. 243. He was, of course, aware of the fact that in oral transmission the pronunciation of the words changed insensibly with the change that went on in the spoken language, and that when written down they appeared in the orthography in use at the date of the manuscript, i, p. 216. Some of Skene's identifications of places in the North are more than doubtful; and his philological chapters are of no value. But the work as a whole forms a most important contribution to the study of the poems.

Since the publication of Skene's work it has been generally recognised that the Gododdin and other historical poems are older than the twelfth century; but there has been little disposition to admit that any of them is what it claims to be. Sir John Rhŷs in his *Lectures on Welsh Philology*, 1879, p. 139, says that "they date, in some form or other, from the ninth century, if not earlier". In his *Arthurian Legend*, 1891, p. 241, he points out that parts of the Gododdin appear in the manuscript in an orthography which may be as old as the ninth century; but he would not think of calling its author Aneirin —no, he is "the poet of the Gododin," p. 242. Similarly he treats the Book of Taliesin in his *Hibbert Lectures*, 1888, as a repository of traditional lore having its roots in Celtic heathendom; but he suggests that Taliesin himself is a myth, and equates the second element of his name with the name of Ossīn, better known as Ossian, "the great mythic poet of the Goidels", p. 551. In 1892, he tacitly gave up this equation by explaining Ossīn or Oisīn as Pictish (*Proc. Ant. Scot.*, 329); but the name actually occurs as the Irish form of the Saxon name Oswin (Plummer's Bede, ii, p. 163). A cruder attempt to etymologize Taliesin into a myth was made by Mr. J. Rogers Rees in the *Arch. Camb.*, 1898, p. 331: "Taliessin, Telessin or Telyessin is clearly Norse for bard or skald . . . *tal* (*tali*)=speech, language, a tale . . . *á sýn*=appearance, shape." The futility of this sort of argument was wittily exposed by Henry Rogers in the *Eclipse of Faith*, 1852, where it is shown how a future Dr. Dickkopf would prove the impossibility of the "papal aggression" of 1850. The names "tell their own tale, and almost, as it were, proclaim of themselves that they are allegorical. *Wiseman*, *Newman* (two of them, be it observed). . . Thus the name 'Wiseman' is evidently chosen to represent the proverbial

craft which was attributed to the Church of Rome; and Nicholas has also been chosen (as I apprehend) for the purpose of indicating the sources whence that craft was derived. . . . The word Newman again (and observe the significant fact that there were two of them) was in all probability, I may say, certainly, designed to embody two different tendencies, both of which claimed . . . to introduce a new order of things ".[1] It is, of course, true that legends gathered round the name of Taliesin in the middle ages, and that a so-called "Mabinogi Taliesin" was written at a late period; but this no more justifies the assumption that he is a myth than the fact that Virgil became a weird necromancer in the medieval imagination proves the Roman poet to have been a heathen god.

Sir Edward Anwyl has discussed the poems of the Cynfeirdd in two papers contributed to the *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*: "Prolegomena to the Study of Old Welsh Poetry," which appears in the volume for 1903-4, and "The Book of Aneirin," with a translation, in the volume for 1909-10. In the first he refers, as Rhys had done, to the stanzas in Old Welsh spelling in the Book of Aneirin as "revealing a part of the poem in its pre-Norman dress, and even in a form which comes near to that of the glosses of the eighth and ninth centuries," p. 69; and as these are mere fragments

[1] Take a more modern example, the present leader of the nation. Is it not evident that David Lloyd George is a mythical name, typifying the unity of Kelts and Angles in the war against Prussianism? "Saint David for Wales" you may read in the Houses of Parliament; the smallest nationality naturally represents the Kelts. St. George for England. Lloyd is not 'grey' here, but 'holy' as in *Duw lwyd*, and indicates that the patron saints are meant; coming between the two names it may go with either; Dewi Sant—Saint George. Incidentally also it signifies that the war is a holy war, St. George v. the Dragon, etc.

he concludes "that the original poems from which they are taken . . . were older still." He also quotes old spellings from the Book of Taliesin, p. 62. He carefully guards himself against drawing hasty inferences about the lateness of the poems from certain isolated allusions; thus, "the reference in l. 885 of the Gododin to the death of Donald Brec, who died in 642, shows that the line, *at any rate in the form there found,* is subsequent to that date"; and a reference to Bede in the Book of Taliesin proves "that the poem containing the reference was later than his time, *that is, unless the line or the reference was interpolated,*" ibid. The words which I have italicised show that he did not wish to commit himself to the statement that the Gododdin was not older than 642, or that the Taliesin poem was not older than Bede. Yet he is even more careful not to suggest that the poems are by Aneirin or Taliesin. To show what reliance is to be placed on such ascriptions he points out a discrepancy which, by his own error, he thinks he has found in the Book of Aneirin. The stanzas in old spelling *follow* Gorchan Maelderw; but Anwyl erroneously took them to be part of it, and notes that Gorchan Maelderw is attributed to Taliesin, while some of the old stanzas appear in the Gododdin proper, which is attributed to Aneirin, p. 70. As the Gorchan does not include those stanzas there is no discrepancy.[1] Much of this poetry, he says, "reflects the period of heroic struggle against the English," p. 68; in his second paper he devotes considerable space to the discussion of the events of the period, and the identification of men and places in the North. But it is taken for granted throughout that none of the poems can be in any sense contemporary with the events. Two questions then arise. (1) *Why* were they

[1] See Ifor Williams, *Y Beirniad,* 1911, p. 254.

written? (2) *How* were they written? (1) Anwyl's answer to the first question, scattered through his papers, may be condensed into a phrase thus: For the glorification of the Welsh families descended from the Northern heroes. But who were those families? The answer is remarkable (*Trans.* 1909-10, p. 95): "Even in medieval times some of the ruling families of Wales styled themselves Gwyr y Gogledd (the men of the North), as in Hengwrt MS. 536." The reference is clearly to "Bonhed Gwyr y Gogled", printed by Skene in *F.A.B.* ii, 454 (from Hen. 536 = Pen. 45), where Gwyr y Gogled are *not* medieval Welshmen at all, but Urien, Llywarch Hên, Rhydderch Hael, etc., North Britons of the sixth century! He proceeds "It may therefore be fairly assumed", and goes on assuming for a whole page, thus: "There is no convincing proof", "It is not impossible", "It is therefore conceivable", "It is not impossible", "Possibly". But there is no answer to Sharon Turner's simple statement that Aneirin's heroes "form part of no genealogies" (*Vind.* p. 152), or to his general case against this very theory of glorification. It may therefore be said that the glorification of imaginary families has not been shown to afford even a probable motive for the composition of the poems. (2) How were the poems written—how could Welsh bards in later centuries know of the persons and places in the North with which the poems deal? Anwyl's reply is given in his first paper, p. 64. There were annals such as the old memoranda appended to the work of Nennius; and "it is highly probable that chronicles of similar type [to these] supplied the personal and local names which have been incorporated in the poems of the *Four Ancient Books*." The systematic faking implied here seems to me, I confess, *im*probable. In his second paper, p. 97, he suggests (in brackets) a modification of

this view. He is speaking of a tradition of Northern names in Wales: "It does not follow necessarily, however, that the tradition should have been continuous on its poetic side (though it is possible that this may to some extent have been the case)". Thus it is possible that *some* old poetry was handed down. This admission of the possibility of a living tradition seems to render unnecessary the assumption of the dry bones of annals being tricked out into a semblance of life.

It is seen that the difficulties of explaining the historical poems as late fabrications have not been surmounted. The possibility of a continuous poetic tradition is admitted "to some extent". Why is it not admitted frankly and fully as the simple and obvious explanation of the facts? The reason is that linguistic theory stands in the way. The reason is not dwelt on, but it is mentioned once in Anwyl's "Prolegomena", page 63: "it is obvious from the rhyme alone that all the old poems were composed after the old declensional and conjugational endings had been entirely lost." That is true: but unless we know at what period the loss took place it determines nothing. The period is not stated, probably because it was considered to be too well known. It was generally assumed that the inflexions were not lost in the sixth century; the poems, therefore, must be later. The Ancient British language by the loss of those endings became the Welsh language; the British name *Maglocunos* became the Welsh name *Mailcun,* later *Maelgwn.* What the above statement implies, then, is this: No poems can have been written in the Welsh language in the sixth century, because in the sixth century the Welsh language itself did not exist.

It is clear that, if this hypothesis as to the antiquity of the language is well founded, it over-rules every other consideration; and it is not to be wondered at that under

its influence little value has been attached to the tradition concerning the poems. But it must not be forgotten that it is no more than an hypothesis. It is based on the following facts. Gildas uses the British forms of proper names; he calls Maelgwn *Maglocune*, and Cynlas *Cuneglase*, the final *e* being in each case the ending of the Latin vocative (it would doubtless be the same in British). In the sixth and seventh century inscriptions the names have their inflected forms: Cadvan appears as *Catamanus* (Rhys, *Welsh Phil.*,[2] p. 364), Brochfael in the genitive as *Brohomagli* (ibid., p. 372). It was therefore naturally assumed that these were the ordinary forms of the names in the language of the period, and that the revolution which converted British into Welsh occurred between the sixth or seventh and the ninth century. Rhys in 1879 considered that there was no occasion to prove the "identity" of the language "in the first and sixth century, though that, it must be admitted, would, owing to the scantiness of our data, be only less difficult than to establish the negative" (ibid., p. 141). He was fully aware that it was an unproved assumption; but he thought it probable, and was willing to "wait until the latter [the negative] has found an advocate."

Before attempting to state the case for the negative, that is, for sixth century Welsh, it will be well to examine a little more closely the case for sixth century British. It rests entirely upon the names in Gildas and in the inscriptions. Because Gildas, writing in Latin, addressed a certain prince as *Maglocune*, therefore, it is assumed that that prince cannot have been called *Mailcun* in the vernacular. To put it in another way, if the prince was generally called *Mailcun*, Gildas would probably have written *Mailcune*. What the argument implies is that it is improbable that an old form was preserved in Latin

side by side with a new form in the vernacular. But in reality it is not improbable, but probable. In a modern Latin document the name of a man called Henry is not written *Henrius* but *Henricus*, because the latter is the traditional Latin form, a form preserved in Latin from the time when the guttural existed in the name. Latin was in use in Britain from the British period, and native names entered into it in their British forms. Personal names were mostly compounds of pairs of common elements, such as *cuno-*, *maglo-*, *vindo-*, *catu-*, etc. Latin being preserved in writing, and in the speech of the educated, these forms would naturally be preserved in it, so that when *Maglo-*, for example, had been reduced to *Mail-* in spoken British, it remained unchanged as the standard Latin form. The work of Gildas and all the inscriptions are written in Latin; we may hold, then, that they prove nothing as to the forms of the spoken British of the period. Archaic forms were also preserved in the Irish Ogams: "the Ogam language," says Macbain[1], "seems to have been a preserved literary language; its inflexions were antique compared to the spoken language, and old Irish, so near it in time as almost to be contemporary, is vastly changed and decayed compared to it". The change was more complete, and therefore probably earlier, in British than in Goidelic.

To come to the evidence for Rhys's "negative," the inscriptions do not suggest that Old British was a living language. Most of the names are in the genitive, in *-i* for the masculine, and *-e* (=classical Latin *-ae*) for the feminine. The simplest inscriptions contain the name only, as if the implied noun were "stone", thus "[the stone] of A son of B". But the genitive is frequently retained when *hic jacit* follows, as if it were mistaken for

[1] *Etym. Dic. of the Gaelic Language*, [2] 1911, p. v.

a nominative, though, of course, it may be that a different noun is then implied, thus "[the body] of A son of B lies here". But the numerous false concords suggest very forcibly that the Latin was not written by persons who spoke a highly inflected language themselves, thus *Culidori jacit et Orvvite mulier secundi*, which Rhys takes to mean[1] *mulieris* (for *uxoris*) *secundae* (*Welsh Phil.*, p. 363); so, *Dervaci filius Justi ic jacit* (ibid., p. 381), etc. Again the distinction of British declensions is lost; the stem *catu-* has a genitive in *-i* as *Dunocati* (ibid., p. 381), which seems to be formed by adding the usual *-i* to *Dunocat* (the *Dinogat* of the Book of Aneirin). In some cases uninflected forms are used, as *Victor* for the genitive *Victoris* (ibid., p. 172); these become commoner in the later inscriptions, as the tradition wanes.

Bede, writing in 731, in his fifty-ninth year, uses the suffixless forms *Car-legion, Ban-cor, Broc-mail* (*H.E.*, ii, 2); he probably found them in older English accounts of the battle of Chester (613 or 616 ?), to which they relate, and was unacquainted with earlier British forms. Welsh, then, goes back to the seventh century, and there is no room for the period of two or three centuries requisite for the development of a new language.

But a clearer indication that the change in the language is earlier than has been assumed is afforded by the practical identity of Welsh and Breton in the ninth century. Zimmer observes that it required the acumen of a Bradshaw to discover the criteria by which we can distinguished them.[2] If the Bretons had taken over with them to Armorica the Ancient British language, it is not likely that they would have evolved out of it

[1] He subsequently attempted, not very successfully, to explain it as better Latin, *Y Cymmrodor*, xviii, p. 12.

[2] *Auf welchem Wege*, etc., p. 15.

between the sixth and ninth century a new language identical with that evolved independently at the same time in Wales. For the development of the new language did not consist merely in the mechanical loss of syllables which was bound to give the same result wherever it happened, but it involved considerable reconstruction in the building up of a new system of inflexion with the remains of the old. Thus the British *catus* 'battle' would naturally give *cat* in both Old Welsh and Old Breton, and its plural *catoues* would as regularly give *catou* in both (*cadau* in Modern Welsh). The *ou* which originally formed part of the stem, seemed now to be a plural ending. It belonged originally to *u*-stems only, which formed the equivalent of the Latin fourth declension. Other stem-endings, such as *-ion*, *-i*, *-et*, *-er*, etc., also survived as plural endings. But it happened that *-ou* came to be chosen as the ending to be added to most nouns which, by the loss of the old inflexions, had no distinctive plural forms; and thus an element which belonged to a small class of words in British became the commonest plural termination in Breton and Welsh. Is it probable that such an accident occurred independently in Welsh and Breton in the seventh or eighth century? It seems more reasonable to suppose that the reconstruction had taken place before the separation of Breton and Welsh; and if so, the new language was already in existence in the first half of the sixth century.

On general grounds also this view is the more probable. In the first century the language was undoubtedly British, largely retaining its Aryan inflexions. But why should "its identity in the first and sixth century" be assumed as a sort of axiom requiring no proof? Surely, the interval between the first and sixth century is that which naturally offers itself as the transition period; it pre-

sents the necessary conditions, and provides the requisite time. During the Roman occupation the well-to-do classes among the Britons adopted the speech of their rulers. British became the depised patois of the lower strata of the population, and ceased to be under the control of the more important social influences which make for conservatism in speech—emulation and regard for precedent, pride and prejudice. That this is not mere fancy is shown by the fact that precisely the same thing happened later in England. After the Norman conquest the nobility and those who imitated them spoke French down to the fourteenth century, and the old Saxon speech, says Ranulph Higden about 1340, "with difficulty survived among a few rustic folk".[1] It was during this period that the old language threw off its remaining inflexions: it entered the period as Anglo-Saxon and emerged as English. The parallel is still more complete: the new vocabulary in each case contained a large admixture of words from the speech of the conquerors; at the end of the period in each case the new language percolated from the lower strata to the higher, and became the national speech; and, lastly, the new speech was employed in each case as the vehicle of song—by Talhaearn, Taliesin and Neirin on the one hand, and by Chaucer and Gower on the other. Talhaearn is styled *tataguen* "the father of the muse"; Chaucer is "the father of English poetry";[2] obviously, it must be for the same reason: the one is the earliest Welsh poet, the other the earliest English. Other parallels inevitably suggest themselves: Ennius (*summus poeta noster*, says Cicero) marks the definite formation of classical Latin, Dante of modern Italian. That the Cynfeirdd, famed in later ages, composed their poems in an effete

[1] In paucis adhuc agrestibus vix remansit.—*Polychronicon*, i. 59.

[2] Dryden, *Poetical Works*, Globe ed., 1894, p. 499.

tongue which was soon to become obsolete seems to me to be not only contrary to analogy but unlikely in itself; their names would have perished with the idiom which they used. It is more probable that they sang the birth-song of the new speech, and that their names and songs were handed down because the language lived.

One other point remains to be considered; can the change in the language be as early as is here suggested, seeing that in some languages it took place so much later? Yes, because it is not *merely* a matter of time; on the documentary evidence alone it must have happened exceptionally early in British. "Parent Aryan," says Sweet,[1] "is an example of a naturally unstable language"; and the remark applies of course to the derived languages which still preserved its inflexions. But it is not to be supposed that the phonetic decay to which the old Aryan tongues were peculiarily liable must always proceed at a uniform rate; conditions may arise at any time which will hasten and precipitate it. That such conditions obtained in Britain in the period in question cannot, I think, be doubted. Zimmer describes the state of things about A.D. 400 thus:[2] "In the vicinity of the towns, part of the population was bi-lingual; those of less culture, like Patrick, spoke a Low Latin dialect as well as their native British, while Latin was the language of the educated. In this connection it is noteworthy that even in the first half of the sixth century Gildas still calls Latin (by which he doubtless means the literary as distinguished from the popular form) '*nostra lingua*'." Popular Latin was subject to the same conditions as British, and suffered similar reduction: thus we learn that in the mouth of the

[1] *The History of Language*, 1900, p. 82.

[2] *The Celtic Church in Britain and Ireland*, trans. A. Meyer, 1902, p. 57.

illiterate Patrick, *gratias agimus* had become *gratzacham* in the early fifth century.[1] A period of about three and a half centuries, extending from the middle of the second to the end of the fifth, would be sufficient under these conditions for the accomplishment of the change in British. The new language evolved from it, having discarded its perishable features, was of a remarkably stable character, comparable in this respect with Arabic,[2] and very similar to it in structure; it made much use of vowel permutations, and had no useless endings to be lost. It underwent no material change between the sixth and ninth century—this is proved by the practical identity of Old Welsh and Old Breton; and since the ninth it has changed much less than the varying orthography of different periods would lead us to suppose. It has been modified in detail in many ways, but it retains its essential character; as Rhys says, "we need not hesitate to assume the identity of the Welsh language of the ninth century with that of the ninteenth." [3] In this sense its identity goes back to the sixth. The term *heniaith*, which is sometimes applied to it, is not a mere rhetorical flourish; it has the additional merit of being true to fact.

If this is well founded, as I believe it to be, the poems attributed to the Cynfeirdd assume quite a new interest and importance. They have been under a cloud for more than a generation. It was believed that not a single line, not a single word, in any of them could represent anything written or spoken by the bards of the sixth century, because it was supposed that those bards (their existence was not generally denied) must have written in Ancient British. This theory is based upon the Latin forms of native names; it is the corollary of the improbable assump-

[1] Ibid., p. 52; Stokes, *Tripartite Life of Patrick*, 1887, p. 291.
[2] Sweet, loc. cit.
[3] *Welsh Philology*, 1879, p. 141.

tion that these reflect literally the living forms. It serves no purpose of philology, and only hampers the interpretation of the inscriptions themselves. On the criticism of these poems its effect has been baneful. Anwyl in his two papers is engaged for the most part only in an unsuccessful struggle with the difficulties which it creates—divining "motives" and attempting to discover possible materials for the great forgery, a forgery for which we have to assume that even the models had to be conjured up. The idiosyncracies and mannerisms, and the forms of verse, which characterize and distinguish the songs of Taliesin, the stanzas of Aneirin, the englynion of Llywarch—— all this is easily imitated, and has been imitated; but can it all have been invented, imagined, created out of nothing?

Immediately the theory is dropped these difficulties vanish, and a more hopeful field of inquiry is opened up. I am not pleading for the substitution of a rival theory, but only for an unprejudiced investigation of the facts. The relinquishment of this theory enables us to resume the traditional and natural view that the language of the Cynfeirdd was the New British which we call Welsh, and therefore admits the possibility of some of their verses being handed down. Let this possibility be tested by a patient examination of the poems as we find them. Their vocabulary should be studied with minute care in order that their obscurities may, if possible, be cleared up; for it is not to be forgotten that both those who defended and those who condemned them in the past understood them only imperfectly, and those who condemned loudest, like Nash, understood them least.[1] The inquiry should be

[1] Good work, mostly unpublished, has already been done on the language of the poems. My colleague, Mr. Ifor Williams, submitted a dissertation on the Book of Aneirin for his M.A. degree in the University of Wales in 1907. The dissertation was read by Professor

taken up at the point where it was left by Stephens and Skene; and the ordinary canons of criticism should be applied. It should be admitted that a description, say, of a sixth century battle, especially if it gives the impression of nearness and vividness, is more likely, other considerations apart, to have been written at the time than at any subsequent time. It should be recognised that the age of a manuscript imposes only one limit on the age of the matter—it cannot be later; it is seldom contemporary—autograph copies and first copies are rare; in the great majority of cases the manuscript is a copy of another, that again of another, and so on; the age of the matter may be anything that other evidence indicates. Due weight should be accorded to tradition, which may suggest and corroborate if it cannot be accepted as proof. These are not theories but axioms which must guide all such inquiries; all questions of the date and authorship of ancient works repose on internal evidence, the evidence of manuscripts often centuries later than the date of the work, and tradition. Many of Sharon Turner's arguments (such, for example, as the extreme improbability of a disaster like the battle of Catraeth being chosen in later ages as the subject of a long poem) have never been answered; and we may hold that there is a *prima facie* case for the survival, in some form, of sixth century verse. And, to quote Matthew Arnold once more, "since a continuous stream of testimony shows the enduring existence . . . . from the sixth century to the twelfth, of an old national literature, it seems certain that much of this

Anwyl, who was also working on the subject. Anwyl's paper appeared in the *Transactions* for 1909-10, see above p. 24; his translation now requires revision. Mr. Williams has since published some articles on the subject in *Y Beirniad*, 1911-12, and has carried further his researches into the vocabulary. His work will, I trust, be ready for publication before long.

must be traceable in the documents of the twelfth century, and the interesting thing is to trace it ".[1]

But there is still one theory that stands in the way; it is Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans's Taliesin theory, expounded in the introduction and notes which unfortunately accompany his beautiful reproduction and facsimile of the text of the Book of Taliesin, and in the companion volume of "amended" text and translation.[2] Dr. Evans is a belated disciple of the Nashian school of thought; his theory rests ultimately on an unwillingness to believe that anything contained in the manuscript can be much older than the manuscript itself—it may be a little older, say a century, but to admit any real antiquity would be contemptible credulity. This is the mid-nineteenth century scepticism, which is akin to that of the person who is too knowing to be taken in by the truth. So Mr. Evans, like Nash, denies that anything in the Book of Taliesin was written before the twelfth century. But a mere negation affords no resting place to the mind; how is the composition of these poems in the twelfth century to be accounted for? Dr. Evans's great contribution is his answer to this question: Taliesin himself, though nobody suspected it before, lived in the twelfth century. That is the theory. He examined the text, and naturally, like Edward Davies before him, found confirmation of the theory everywhere. He believes in it passionately; his contempt for those who take the traditional view he fails, after many brave attempts, adequately to express, and is "reduced to a melancholy, thoughtful silence", p. xxv.

I yield to no one in my admiration for Dr. Gwenogvryn

[1] Op. cit., p. 44.

[2] *Facsimile and Text of the Book of Taliesin*, Llanbedrog, 1910; *Poems from the Book of Taliesin, edited, amended and Translated*, 1915. Though thus dated, the volumes were not issued until 1916. References here are to the first volume, unless marked II.

Evans's reproductions of old Welsh texts, or in my appreciation of their value to students of the Welsh language and literature. I believe they surpass anything that has ever been achieved in the way of printed texts; Dr. Evans has developed the art of printing in facsimile to a point never before reached. As a decipherer of Welsh manuscripts he has never been approached; I have seen him make out in a few seconds an obliterated initial which had not only baffled me, but had been misread by a previous copyist at least 200 years before. He possesses the endless patience which absolute accuracy demands, a very exceptional power of sight, and a real faculty for finding out the original ink-marks in what appears to be a hopeless blotch. The service he has rendered by his gift far exceeds in lasting value that of any theorist however brilliant, for he has provided the student with the fundamental facts. Unhappily, for himself and for us, he is not satisfied with this. Why should he be a mere transcriber, a mere machine? Why should not he, too, have his say on matters of textual criticism and literary history? His friends, he says, have tried to dissuade him. "Do you think that *you* are going to get at the bottom of stuff like that"? he is asked (II, p. vii). In spite of discouragements like these he has persuaded himself that he does understand Taliesin, and has discovered the bard's secret. He issues his revelation in the tone and manner of a challenge to the world. A reply is due not so much for the sake of demolishing the theory, for that has little chance of acceptance, but because in the process some constructive work can perhaps be done.

It is strange that the accurate palaeographer who most faithfully supplies us with the absolute facts of the manuscripts has no idea how to use the facts himself, or of the value of any evidence. His reasoning,—the

effective, which is not always the expressed, part of it,—is all purely subjective. The conclusion he arrives at is that which he thinks ought to be, or wishes to be. When the evidence is against it, he simply asserts it against the evidence. Thus Llywarch ap Llywelyn, a bard who flourished about 1200, is called *Prydydd y Moch.* Mr. Evans calls him "Prydydd y·Mochnant", and in English "the Bard of Mochnant"; but, as his *y·* means the preposition *ym*, the expression "Prydydd y·Mochnant" is indefinite and can only mean "a poet in Mochnant"—he really has only the vaguest notions of Welsh syntax. There is no analogy whatever for such a formula.[1] What evidence is there for it here? He confesses that there is none: "Always mistakenly written 'Prydydd y moch'", p. xii. In other words, "*never* written anywhere 'Prydydd y·Mochnant'". Stephens (*Lit. Kym.*, 1849, p. 276) mentions as one suggested explanation of *Prydydd y Moch* that the word *Moch* here means not "pigs" but "the men of Mochnant": and he rejects the explanation on the ground that the Prydydd had nothing to do with Mochnant.[2] He is right; the *wele* (holding) of "Pridith Mogh" was at "Wyckewere" near St. Asaph, according to the Extent of Denbigh, 1335 (Seebohm, *Trib. Sys.*, 1895, p. 31). Now observe the working of Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans's mind. Prydydd y Moch is a poet who happens to possess his esteem; he cannot entertain the idea that a person whom

[1] There is no *Eos yn Nyfed, Bardd ym Môn,* etc., but only *Eos Dyfed, Bardd Môn,* etc.

[2] Stephens's own explanation of the name Prydydd y Moch is that the bard was the author of the stanzas called *Hoianeu,* each of which begins with "Listen, little pig", and which are attributed to Myrddin. As Skene (*F.A.B.* i, 222) shows, the supposition is not a likely one. Perhaps the explanation after all is that there was no sharp line of demarcation between bardic names and nicknames; and even kings and princes had the latter.

he rather approves of could or should have such a name as "the poet of the pigs"; in reading Stephens an idea strikes him: "he *must be* the Bard of Mochnant"; then he asserts, in defiance of all the evidence, that the bard *is* "Prydydd y·Mochnant". The evidence of manuscripts is nothing—it is the record of a mistake; his inner light tells him that the name *is* the solecism *which he himself has invented.*

That is a characteristic sample of the method. Now let us see how it is applied to the history of Taliesin:—

> That Taliesin flourished in the middle of the twelfth century there can be no manner of doubt; and he was held in such high esteem that his manner, his style was imitated. 'But', it has been objected, 'there might have been another Taliesin who lived in the sixth century'. Where is the evidence for this ghost, this birth of fraud, this tattle of public platforms? Might-have-been is not evidence, but the offspring of indolent belief, which shirks the effort to think. To say this is to fly in the face of Providence which provides for the simple, but the man who has seen a truth cannot be as if he had not seen it (p. iii).

It is no use quarrelling with the style; the style is the man. But this tirade means only that there is no evidence for the Taliesin of tradition. The answer to it is that there is evidence; that he himself quotes some of it, misquotes some more, and ignores the rest.

The oldest reference to Taliesin occurs in the well-known entry in the additamenta to Nennius in the British Museum Harl. MS. 3859, fol. 188b, printed below. A facsimile of part of the original page containing the words appears as the frontispiece to this volume.

> (I)da fili*us* e°bba tenuit regiones in sinistrali parte brittannię, id *est*, umbri maris, & regnauit annis duodeci*m*, & uncxit dinguayrdi guurth berneich.
>
> (T)unc dutigirn in illo tempore fortit*er* dimicabat contra gente*m* anglor*u*m. Tunc talhaern tat aguen in poemate claruit, & neirin & taliessin & bluchbard & cian qui vocat*ur* gueinth guaut simul uno tempore in poemate brittannico claruer*unt*.

'Ida the son of Eobba held the regions in the northern[1] part of Britain, that is of the Umbrian sea, and reigned twelve years, and joined Dinguayrdi [Dinguoaroy = Bamborough[2]] to Bernicia.[3]

'Then Dutigirn at that time bravely fought against the nation of the Angles. Then Talhaern, father of the muse, shone in poetry, and Neirin and Taliessin and Bluchbard and Cian who is called gueinth guaut [gwenith gwawd = wheat of song] together at the same time shone in British poetry'.

Dr. Evans begins his Introduction by quoting these words in a translation, in which the errors occur only in the first part, and do not affect the argument. He notes that "Ida founded the kingdom of Northumbria in the year 547, and died in 559. Thus we have a precise statement that a man of the name of Taliesin, who wrote poetry in the Britannic tongue, lived in the middle of the sixth century", p. vii. That is so; it is evidence against him, and he has to rebut it if he can. Let us examine the attempt. In his report on the Welsh manuscripts in the British Museum[4] he had dated this manuscript "circa 1100". He now says, p. viii, that it "was written after 1125", giving no reasons, and making no reference at all to his own official report of 1910. He then tacitly assumes that the memorandum is not older than the manuscript; "thus over five centuries intervene between the bard and the record, a period long enough to wear away the sharp

[1] *Sinistralis* is undoubtedly British Latin, rendering the Welsh *gogledd* 'left, north', and formed on the analogy of *australis.* See Stevenson, *Asser's Life of King Alfred*, 1904, p. 234. "East of the Umbrian sea" is nonsense; the district is *North*umbria.

[2] Dr. Evans, for some reason only known to him, renders this Durham; in a later entry in the same tract *Dinguoaroy* is expressly stated to be *Bebbanburch.* In *Dinguoyrdi* the second *d* is a scribal error for *o*.

[3] The writer either leaves *guurth* untranslated, or drops himself into his native Welsh. Whether *uncxit* is read as *junxit,* as in some later MSS, or as *rinxit*, as by Zimmer, the preposition after it would be *guurth* in Welsh; cf. *calon wrth galon*, etc.

[4] *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, vol. ii, p. 939.

edges of fact ". This assumption I deal with below. He then says that "the alleged evidence is, at best, second hand, and purely dogmatic. It is not supported by any detail. There is no hint that Nennius had seen a line ", etc. As the tract is a skeleton history containing no details, this argument is mere quibbling. Lastly, "we have a bald statement, which . . . requires to be closely scrutinized. This we shall now attempt to do by directing attention to the earliest recorded use of words in our text ", that is, by inquiring into something else. He looks the fact straight in the face, and passes by on the other side.

It is to be observed that the argument which ends in this pitiful evasion attempts only to discredit the memorandum as evidence for the Taliesin of the sixth century; the question how it is to be reconciled with a twelfth century Taliesin is not discussed at all. As the one and only Taliesin was the poet who "from 1146 to 1176" sang "the fortune of the house of Gwynedd ", p. xxxiii, no one else can possibly be alluded to in the memorandum. This is touched upon once: Taliesin "shone early: to be chosen for special mention in the Nennian additamenta he must have attained a foremost place about 1130 ", p. xxxvi. It is seen that "after 1125" becomes now "about 1130 ". Resulting from this, "Taliesin lived between 1105 and 1175, or thereabouts ", p. xxix. "To be chosen for special mention " is a very curious phrase for being the subject of a gross blunder. Mistakes in dating persons long dead are common enough, but it is *not* usual to mistake distinguished contemporaries for ancients; such an error is so unlikely as to be almost inconceivable, and no trick of language which attempts to disguise its extreme improbability can be allowed to pass. Now let us put the whole case of the bearing of the memorandum upon Dr. Evans's

theory. Taliesin, who sang "from 1146 to 1176", might have been born about 1105, and might have been distinguished "about 1130", he might have been brilliant in youth, prolific in age. The Harl. MS. might have been written "about 1130" (though previously dated "circa 1100" by our palaeographer himself); the memorandum might have been a composition of that date (this assumption involves the "well-known error" of taking "the date of the first attestation of a fact to be the date of the fact itself"[1]); and its author might have been muddle-headed enough to name a young poet of the day among the British bards of the sixth century. It might have been; but I have to remind Dr. Evans that "might-have-been is not evidence". Or rather, perhaps one ought to say that all this might-have-been, much of which is improbable in the highest degree, is very satisfactory evidence that the theory which calls for it is a delusion.

But this, of course, is only half the matter. We have now to consider the credentials of the document which Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans impugns. The manuscript is written, according to the Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum, in "an English hand of the early twelfth century" (*Y Cymmrodor*, ix, p. 146). The "Historia Brittonum" proper is followed by a number of shorter tracts relating to British history. The memorandum in question occurs in a tract called "Saxon Genealogies", which, according to Mr. Phillimore, is "itself of earlier composition than the Historia", and "was embodied with it (approximately at the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century)", ibid., p. 143. "The *Genealogies*, according to M. de la Borderie, are the most authentic and, from an historical point of view, the most valuable portion of

[1] Professor Hugh Williams in *Zeitschrift für celt. Phil.*, iv, p. 557.

the whole work" (*Y Cymmrodor* vii, p. 157). Zimmer, in his *Nennius Vindicatus*, 1893, p. 78, analyses the tract, and finds that it contains genealogies coming down to 685, with interpolations reaching down a century later, followed by "a history [beginning with our quotation, *Ida filius Eobba*, etc.] of North and Mid Britain down to the death of Ecgfrid of Northumberland, who fell in 685, in a battle against the Picts. We have thus a history of the Britons and Angles from 547 to 685 in short memoranda before us". He concludes that "the time of its composition can therefore only be the year 685 itself or 686", p. 78, though in its first form he thinks the tract must have been written in 679, p. 96. The interpolations are not later than the date of the "Historia" proper, which he puts at 796, p. 82. As an authority the "Historia" proper is, he says, "absolutely worthless"; but the tract on the other hand is, "for the history of Welsh and Irish literature . . . . . of the very highest importance (*von allerhöchster Bedeutung*)", p. 282. Mommsen, in the preface to his edition of the *Historia Brittonum*, 1894, p. 119, gives the date of the manuscript, Harl. 3859, as the end of the eleventh century according to Henry Bradshaw (*Collected Papers*, p. 466) or the beginning of the twelfth in the opinion of Sir E. Maunde Thompson (Keeper of Manuscripts, already quoted above). He accepts Zimmer's conclusion as to the date of the tract "Saxon Genealogies", but believes that the "Historia" proper may have been written about the same time, and expanded during the eighth century, as was the case with the tract itself, p. 117. There is thus, among differences on other points, a most weighty and authoritative consensus of opinion as to the date and value of our tract. To the question "where is the evidence" that Taliesin lived in the sixth century, we can reply, then, that it is to be found in a document pronounced by all the

most competent judges to have been written in the seventh century, and to be of the highest historical value. The date of the manuscript which contains it is, in the judgement of the most eminent palaeographical authorities, the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century; and there is no need to waste words on the ineptitude of the suggestion that the Taliesin named in it is a person who was composing poetry in 1176.

The Welsh names in the tract are in archaic spelling. *Talhaern* for *Talhaearn* is an Old Welsh form like *gaem* for *gaeaf* (*Welsh Gram.*, 1913, p. 100). *Neirin* must be the old form of this name. Though written *Aneirin* it counts as a dissyllable in the Gododdin, Book of Aneirin, p. 12:—

mi na vi (a)neirin 5
ys gwyr talyessin 5
ovec kywrenhin 5

The *a*- is an inorganic sound which is sometimes introduced before inital *n*- as in *anadred* for *nadredd* 'snakes', *annifer* for *nifer* 'number' (*Welsh Gram.*, p. 25). The form with *A*- became the common written form of this name, and the correct form is known to us only through this memorandum. Zimmer, though he noted the "high antiquity and clearness" of the Welsh names in this tract (*Nenn. Vind.*, p. 80), thought that *Neirin* was an error, p. 103. The author of 679, he suggests, wrote *Aneirin*, and Nennius in 796 mistook this for the Welsh "a Neirin", and wrote *et Neirin*, "destroying the construction and sense", as it seems to the mechanical German mind: most of us would say that *et Neirin* is much the more likely reading. He then takes this as a proof that the Welshman in 796 did not know the sixth century North British bards ("even by their names", p. 283): the poems attributed to Aneurin [*sic*], Taliessin, etc., are, at the earliest, products of the ninth and tenth centuries,

called forth by the Northern tract known through Nennius. A rather large deduction from his own bad guess. One would like to ask how it came about, in that case, that the Nennian form *Neirin* is not found in Welsh manuscripts; where the Welsh got the "correct" *Aneirin* from, seeing that their only knowledge of him was derived from Nennius; why Talhaearn, the father of the muse, was so shabbily treated by the forgers, who have not honoured him with a single flash note: Talhaearn—what a name it would have been to conjure with! No, Nennius is right; the correct reading is *Neirin*. It need hardly be said that there is no authority for *Aneurin*, which is simply due to the false notion that the name contains the adjective *eurin* 'golden'. The name of *Talhayarn* occurs twice (20·4, 21·16), and *Kian* once (19·4) in a poem in the Book of Taliesin. *Bluchbard* is unknown elsewhere.[1]

The next piece of evidence occurs in f. 29a-b of the oldest Welsh copy of the Laws, the Black Book of Chirk, which Dr. Evans dates "about 1200".[2] It is the record of a tradition concerning the origin of certain privileges enjoyed by the men of Arvon. The text will be found in the *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, vol. i, p. 104. The orthography of this manuscript is peculiar; the footnotes to the following translation give the MS. spelling of the names where it has been altered or corrected.

[1] Evan Evans suggested (see above p. 14) that it is an error for Llywarch, which seems to be the name required. But one hesitates to accept this, though there are many mistakes in the MS. due to one or more transcribers' ignorance of Welsh (*Y Cymmrodor*, ix, 146). The oldest form of Llywarch is *Loumarc*, ib. 178, but *lugmarc* might be an earlier form, and an initial *dl-* is possible (cf. Loth, *Voc. Vieux-Bret.*, 107). But the errors in the MS. scarcely justify the transformation required, so that the suggestion is improbable. *Bluchbard* had better be classified with *Cian* and *Talhaern* as poets whose works did not survive.

[2] *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, vol. i, p. 359.

Elidir Mwynfawr,[a] a man of the North,[b] was slain here, and after his death the men of the North[b] came here to avenge him. The men who came as their leaders were Clidno Eydin, and Nudd[c] Hael son of Senillt, and Mordaf Hael son of Serwan,[d] and Rhydderch[e] Hael son of Tudawal Tutclut[f]; and they came to Arvon; and because Elidir was slain at Aber Menhedus in Arvon they burned Arvon as a further revenge. And then Rhun[g] son of Maelcun, and the men of Gwynedd[h] with him, rose up in arms, and came to the bank of Gweryd[i] in the North[b], and there they were long disputing who should take the lead through the river Gweryd.[i] And then Rhun[k] dispatched a messenger to Gwynedd[l] to ascertain who were entitled to lead. Some say that Maeldaf the elder, the lord of Penart adjudged it to the men of Arvon; Yornert son of Madauc on the authority of the story, affirms that it was Iduo Hên to the men of the black-headed shafts. And thereupon the men of Arvon went in the van, and were good there. And Telyessin sang—

Kikleu oduref[1] eu llaueneu
kan run en rudhur[2] bedmeu
guⁱr aruon rudyon eu redyeu.[3]

I heard the clash of their blades
With Rhun in the rush of armies—
The men of Arvon of reddened spears.

[a] muhenuaur. [b] kocled. [c] nud. [d] feruari. [e] retherc. [f] tudaual tutclit. [g] rud. [h] guinet. [i] guerit. [k] rudn. [l] hid eghwynet.

This is at least a genuine bit of tradition. All the persons named in it (except the lawyer Iorwerth ap Madawc who is contemporary with the record) lived in the sixth century. *Rhūn's* father, Maelgwn, died in 547 according to the "Annales Cambriae" (*Y Cymmrodor*, ix, 155); and the incidents recorded took place presumably in Rhūn's reign. *Rhydderch Hael* was king of Alclyde (Dumbarton); he is called "Riderch hen" in the "Saxon

[1] The f is probably an error for f̦, and the preceding *e* is silent as in *llaueneu* pronounced *llavneu* (see my *Gram.* § 16, v, (1)), so that the word in modern spelling is (*g*)*odwrf*.

[2] *hur* faint and *ur* blotched, but *er* (as in *Anc. Laws*) is incorrect.

[3] Read *reidyeu*. The preceding *eu* should probably be omitted, as it makes the line long. The form in Modern Welsh would be—Gwŷr Arfon ruddion reiddiau.

Genealogies", and named as one of the British kings who fought against Hussa (567-574). In Adamnan's Life of Columba, written about 695, there is an anecdote "de rege Roderco filio Tothail qui in Petra Cloithe regnavit", Reeves' ed., p. 43. He is called Rederech by Jocelin, and described as a Christian king, and friend of Kentigern (*Historians of Scotland*, v, pp. 213, 218, 241). He fought at Arfderydd in 573. *Clydno Eidyn* was his father's cousin (*Y Cymmrodor* ix, 173); *Mordaf Hael* and possibly *Nudd Hael* were his cousins (Skene, *F.A.B.* i, 169). *Elidir Mwynfawr*, who had been slain in Arvon, was his father's cousin (ibid.). Here, then, we have a tradition which seems to preserve pretty accurately[1] the memory of a historical event; and it represents Taliesin as the contemporary of Rhūn ap Maelgwn and Rhydderch Hael. It corroborates, on Welsh ground, the testimony of the Northern memorandum in the "Saxon Genealogies". Even by itself, it is absolutely decisive against the theory that Taliesin lived in the twelfth century.

How does Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans deal with this evidence? He does not mention it at all as bearing on the question of Taliesin's date. He misquotes part of it to prove that *y Gogledd* (the North) was the district around Chester. Thus (p. xvii):—

[1] There seems to be an error in one detail. Afon Gweryd is the Forth, which is *north* of Strathclyde, while the long dispute and the sending of a messenger to Gwynedd imply that Rhūn had friendly territory behind him, and was *about to enter* Cumbria. Camden says that an old wall at Lancaster was called *Wery Wall*, which he takes to come from the British name of the town; this, he says, was *Caer Werid* (*Britannia*, 1594, p. 587; Gibson's ed. 1695, 795). He does not state his authority; perhaps it was local tradition. The name of Afon Gweryd survived in Welsh tradition longer than that of Caer Weryd, which would account for the substitution of the one for the other. It would fit in better with the rest of the story if we supposed the sentence originally read, "came to Caer Weryd in the North and disputed long who should take the lead".

> The Chirk Codex of the Laws adds the further testimony that "Rhun . . . . . raised an army and went with the men of Gwyneð to the bank of the Gweryð in Gogleð where they spent a considerable time in disputing who should lead through the Gweryð", i.e., the sacred stream, or Dee Now, in this border expedition Rhun, son of Owein Gwyneð, sickened and died, hence the dispute as to who should lead; and the "despatch of a messenger to Gwyneð" on the subject.

In his "quotation" he gives the name of Rhun, son of Maelgwn, as "Rhun . . . . ", and then palms him off as Rhun son of Owein Gwynedd. He represents the expedition as having taken place in the twelfth century by omitting every detail which proves it to have taken place in the sixth. If there is anything at all that this paragraph in the Chirk Codex proves, it is that the North meant Cumbria or Strathclyde to the Welsh of the twelfth century; he makes use of it to prove that the North meant Cheshire by flagrant misrepresentation, and by omitting the names of the Northern leaders, including the famous Rhydderch Hael. Another thing that the paragraph conclusively proves is the date of Taliesin in twelfth century tradition; of this he says nothing at all.

There is abundant evidence of this tradition. Sharon Turner has collected a large number of references to Taliesin and the other Cynfeirdd in the works of the bards of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the natural interpretation being in each case that the bard referred to lived in the remote past. Turner also quotes passages from a Latin poem attributed to Geoffrey of Monmouth, in which Telgesinus and Merlinus appear as fellow-bards and as contemporaries of "rex Cumbrorum, Rodarcus", *Vind.*, pp. 120-3. The poem is not by Geoffrey, but it bears witness to the twelfth century tradition.[1] Wace,

[1] The poem, "Vita Merlini", was printed by San Marte in *Die Sagen von Merlin*, Halle, 1853, pp. 273-316. It was written after Geoffrey's "Historia" had become famous, and was addressed to

who wrote his "Roman de Brut" about 1155, speaks in it of Thelesin as a prophet who foretold the birth of Christ![1] The tale of Kulhwch was written, according to Dr. Evans (W. B. Mab., p. xiv) before 1135; and in that Teliessin penn beirð figures as one of Arthur's men (ibid., col. 462). In the tale of Branwen Talyessin is one of the seven who escaped from Ireland in the time of Bendigeidvran (ibid., col. 56-7). These are tales, and prove nothing about Taliesin's real date, but they prove that he had become a legendary character in the twelfth century. Avaon ap Talyessin is named with Uryen and Aneirin in a triad in the detached portion of the White Book (*Y Cymmrodor*, vii, p. 128). In the Black Book of Carmarthen, as we have seen, the first poem is in the form of a dialogue between Myrddin and Taliesin. That was written down in the twelfth century; and in the twelfth century Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan (ed. Arthur Jones, p. 110) Myrddin is an ancient prophet who foretold this prince. In the Gododdin, Aneirin mentions "Talyessin of noble thought", see above, p. 45; the words may not be his, but they prove that it was *believed* that the two bards were contemporaries. What does Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans say about all this? Not one word. And he has the effrontery to ask "Where is the evidence for this ghost, this birth of fraud?" I will not bandy charges; the facts speak for themselves.

We come now to the subject matter of the poems. Our editor, turning aside, as we have seen, from the

Robert, bp. of Lincoln, who must be either Robert de Chesney, 1148, or Robert Grosteste, 1235. San Marte thinks the latter; but as Geoffrey's work was written about 1136, the former is possible.

[1] San Marte, op. cit., 150; R. H. Fletcher, *The Arthurian Material in the Chron.* (vol. x of *Studies and Notes in Lit. and Phil.*), Boston, 1906, p. 91. Wace did not get his Thelesin from Geoffrey, but from vague Breton tradition.

inconvenient Nennian memorandum, proceeds to consider certain proper names in his text. He makes a great show of following a scientific method, and evinces his usual confusion of thought. He will deal with Welsh names and their use in times *anterior* to the surviving Welsh records as an English student would deal with *steamer*, *railway*, *aeroplane*, etc., in *contemporary* records. The Latin *Britannia* meant 'Wales' in the twelfth century; and "it is precisely at this stage that *Prydein* appears in our text as an expression for" Wales, p. ix. He imagines that by making that statement he has proved that the text was written in the twelfth century and that *Prydein* in it means Wales, whereas, of course, he has only assumed both. There is no evidence that Prydein is used for Wales. Where it is not an error for *Prydyn* 'Pict-land, Scotland', it means the same as it does in *Ynys Prydein*. For example, the ninth century poem "Armes Prydein Vawr" contains a prophecy that the men of Brittany, Cornwall, Ireland, Wales, Strathclyde will unite to drive the Saxons out of Prydein; they will ask them "what is their title to the land they hold", pp. 16, 17; see Ifor Williams in *Y Beirniad*, 1916, pp. 207-12.

The word *Cymry* 'the Welsh, Wales' is of some importance. "It is significant", says Dr. Evans, "that the term *Kymry* takes the place of *Prydein* for the first time in *Brut y Tywyssogion* in the year 1135", p. x. The unsuspecting reader will gather from that that *Prydein* is regularly used for Wales in the Brut down to the year 1135, that is in pp. 257-308 of the Red Book Bruts, and that *Kymry* then takes its place. The unsuspecting reader will be deceived. I turn the name up in the index, and find that in those fifty-two pages *Prydein* occurs *once* only, and *then* means Scotland, p. 278. But even if the statement were true, it would be significant of nothing but

the fact that the editor supposes that tracing a word in a history book is the same as tracing it in a fully recorded contemporary literature. The word *Kymry* is not only older than any record, but, as a common noun, is as old as the Welsh language itself. It is the plural of *Cymro,* and there is no foundation for the modern modification which treats it as *Cymru* when it means 'Wales'. The feminine form *Cymra-es* and the feminine adjective *Cymra-eg* can hardly have been formed after the Old British period, since the change of *o* to *a* in the root seems to belong to British rather than to Welsh phonetics.[1] *Cymro* means 'a fellow-countryman', and to a Briton, who alone used it, it naturally denoted a Briton. Skene says that the first appearance of the word as a national name occurs in Ethelwerd's Latin Chronicle, written between 975 and 1011, in which the *Peohtas* (Picts) and *Straecled Wealas* (Strathclyde Welsh) of the Saxon Chronicle are rendered *Pictis Cumbrisque.*[2] But, surely, this can be no indication whatever of the first use of the word as a national name by the Welsh themselves; the fact that it was used by the Welsh both of the North and of Wales seems to imply, as Rhys intimates in his *Celtic Britain,* 1884, p. 116, that it "acquired the force and charm of a national name" before they were separated as a result of the battle of Chester in 616. But Rhys is wrong in seeing in it an expression of the union of Northern and Southern Britons; it was more probably at first a common noun representing the British equivalent of the Latin *civis* as opposed to *hostis* or *peregrinus.* When Gildas wrote *Ex eo tempore nunc cives, nunc hostes, vincebant,* §26, 1, a phrase echoed

[1] See my *Welsh Gram.,* p. 85. The only other word in which the *interchange* has survived is *troed,* plural *traed,* from British **troget-,* **traget-* respectively, as *Cymro* is from **Kom-brog-os* and *Cymraes* from **Kom-brag-issa.*

[2] *Historians of Scotland,* vol. v, p. 332.

later by the author of the "Saxon Genealogies", §63, his use of *cives* doubtless corresponded to the British use of *cymry*, which did not mean 'fellow-countrymen' in the abstract, but '*our* fellow-countrymen', and was on the way to become among the British a synonym of 'Britons'. In any case the word itself is older than any Welsh poem; and the dates of the changes in its meaning are to be determined, if at all, by *Welsh*, not by Latin, documents, if these can be otherwise dated. Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans draws from his absurd deduction from the Bruts the equally absurd inference that "Breint Teilaw" in Liber Landavensis (ed. J. G. Evans, p. 120) is not older than 1135 because it contains *Cymry* for Wales; this is putting the cart before the horse—the document proves that *Cymry* meant Wales in the Old Welsh period. In the Book of Aneirin the Britons are called *Brython*; Cymry can hardly be meant by *kemre*, 32·15, *gymre* 30·9, for the latter rhymes with *gre* and *bre*. I have looked up the references in Dr. Evans's index, and find that in the Book of Taliesin *Kymraec* occurs once, *Kymro* once, and *Kymry* thirty times. Of these occurrences the single *Kymro* and fourteen *Kymry* are in one poem, "Armes Prydein Vawr", which was written, as shown by Mr. Williams, in the late ninth or early tenth century at latest[1]; in this poem *Kymry* means 'Welshmen', the men of Strathclyde being called *Cludwys*.[2] Of the remaining

[1] *Y Beirniad*, 1916, p. 212. About two-thirds of the poem is printed in the *Cambrian Register*, ii, p. 552ff. with a translation, and an introduction in which it is attributed to Golyddan, circa 630. This is the work of the Rev. E. Davies (*Cambrian Quart. Mag.*, iii, p. 416) whose suggestion as to the authorship is accepted as probable, and acknowledged, in the *Myv. Arch.*, i, 1801, p. 156.

[2] The name is not in Mr. Evans's index though rendered correctly by E. Davies and R. Williams. But the "theory" does not admit the existence of the Clydemen, and the index suffers.

sixteen examples of *Cymry*, only five appear in poems dealing with events of Taliesin's time: the first is antithetical to *arallvro* 'stranger', 29·15; the second and third come together and refer to the Cumbrians from Penren Wleth (in Glasgow) to Luch Reon (Loch Ryan), 34·1·2; the fourth comes after *arallvro* 38·15; the fifth *kymry kaeruedawc*, 41·23, is obscure; in no case does such a phrase as "Kymry a Saesson", for example, occur, as in the later "Armes", 14·17. How does Dr. Evans deal with the matter? He lumps together the earlier and later poems. He states that *Brython* and *Prydein* occur together in eleven poems, both with *Kymry* in five, *Kymry* alone in nine, and calls that "evidence conclusive of a transition period". The bards of 1150-1225 similarly use *Prydein* and *Brython* and *Kymry*; he tells us how many times, and then—

> Taliesin was certainly contemporary with Gwalchmei and Kynðel, for all three sing to Owein Gwyneð, who died in 1170. Taliesin, therefore, lived in the xiith century (p. xii).

There is, of course, no mention of Owein Gwynedd in the Book of Taliesin; that seems to be all that it is necessary to say in answer to this *non sequitur*. In this connexion there is one other assertion to be noticed:

> As the Welsh rendering of *Scotti* was *Brithon*, vel *Brithion*, confusion with *Brython* was inevitable. And to this day learned professors, writing on our history and literature, do not appear to have noticed the distinction (p. xi).

They do not. They are perverse people, these professors; and I fear they will be unreasonable enough to demand some proof of the equation "*Scotti=Brithon*", and will simply refuse to accept it on the mere dictum of the seer of Tremvan. *Brithon* is, of course, only an old spelling of *Brython*, which is the Welsh continuation of the British *Brittones*, as *Prydein* is of the British *Pritannia*.

Another class of names which are still more important for the determination of the dates of the poems consists of names of towns, rivers and districts in Britain. The poems deal largely with the northern districts, which accords with an early, rather than a medieval, origin. Dr. Evans is therefore obliged by the exigencies of his theory to show that all northern names denote places in Wales or its borders. Let us examine his attempts.

Y Gogledd.—I have already quoted his flagrant misuse of the Chirk Codex to prove that "the North" is the "country bordering on the lower half of the Dee". He opens his argument in his own genial manner, thus:

> We have been taught to look for Gogleð in the land of mists, but as Owein Gwyneð never was in Scotland, it looks as if our mentors had lost their way in a fog of their own creation. The warrior-poet Gwalchmei, who was ever at Owein's side, knew his geography better. "Owein bears the palm within the four corners of Wales: Homage is rendered to him from the fort on the Clud in Gogleð; and he is a dragon in Dyved—in the far away South."
>
> Dy·chlud glod Brydein bedrydaneu:
> Dy·wystlir iðaw o ðin al-Clud Ogleð—
> draig yw yn·Yved, draw yn·Eheu.[a]
>
> [a] *Myr.* 144.
>
> Here Gogleð and Deheu are clearly antithetical, indicative of the extreme limits of Owein's dominance (p. xvii).

In order to represent *Prydein* 'Britain' as Wales, and to include in it North and South, *he foists the words* YN·YVED *(in Dyved) into his quotation.* In *Myv.* 144, to which reference is made, the last two lines read:

> Dygwystlir idaw o Din Alclud gogled
> Draig yw yn dyhed drawen yn deheu.

The word *dyhed* is *dyheδ* 'war'; it rhymes with *Gogleδ* (as is usual, though not essential, in the metre), and answers in consonantism to *Deheu*. Thus he begins with a gross misquotation; he substitutes one word for another, and says nothing about it. The next point is that in his text

13·13 "*gwyr Gogleδ* are the men of Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester". It need hardly be said that there is no Hugh Lupus in the text, which is that of the ninth century "Armes". We have here only another example of the editor's habit of arguing in a circle—of proving a thing by assuming it in his premises. It is because Gogledd is Cheshire that Hugh Lupus is dragged in; and because Gwyr Gogledd are Hugh's men, therefore Gogledd is Cheshire. We are referred next to the Red Book Bruts, pp. 292-3, where it is stated that a host "o'r Gogleδ a'r Alban" are led by Alexander mac Malcolm and a son of Hugh Lupus. Dr. Evans simply inverts the order, and says "Alban and Gogleδ", to give them "their *respective* princes"; the result is "Scotland and Cheshire"—what a likely combination! In "Brut y Saeson", *Myv.* 672, only *holl prydyn*, i.e., "all Scotland" goes with them, so that *y Gogledd a'r Alban* is merely another way of saying "all Scotland". Next there is a statement about Mwrchath, with no reference—clearly because it will not bear examination; and, lastly, there comes the enormity of the "further testimony" of the Chirk Codex. And that is the proof! It is as remarkable for what it omits as for what it contains. We have seen that all the details in the passage from the Chirk Codex which show what *y Gogledd* really meant are suppressed. So with the Bruts. One passage, in which "the North and Scotland" can be twisted into "Scotland and Cheshire", is quoted; but the passages which show indubitably what *y Gogledd* meant are not mentioned. For example, here are three from accounts of partitions of the island: "And Albanactus took *y Gogledd* which is called after his name *yr Alban* (Scotland)", p. 60. "And there came to Morgan beyond the Humber *y Gogledd* to its boundaries," p. 69. "England and Wales and Cornwall to Owein, and *y Gogledd* to

Peredur," p. 81. Again, "from Humber to the sea and *Catyneis* (Caithness) in *y Gogledd*", p. 185. Lastly, Catwallawn made for *y Gogledd* to attack Edwin, who, hearing of it, set out and met him at *Hefynffylt* (Heavenfield=St. Oswald's in Northumberland, Plummer's Bede, ii, 122), p. 248. Dr. Evans cannot have been unaware of these passages; they are all indexed in his *Bruts* volume, so that I was able to find the five in as many minutes. He thus manifestly holds back the relevant evidence, while he insultingly accuses others of inventing its plain implication, and calls this "a fog *of their own creation*". It is almost incredible to what lengths an illogical mind may be driven when labouring under a "strong delusion".

Penryn Blathaon.—There is, however, one other reference in Dr. Evans's Introduction to *Gogledd* in the Bruts; it is as follows: "*Penryn Blataon* yn y *Gogledd*, B. 292·25. This is the headland of Wirral between the *Balas* of the Dee and the Mersey. Blataon is clearly a scr(ibal) err(or) for Balaon," p. xxiv. Unfortunately for him *bala* is not the mouth of a river but its "efflux from a lake"; the *bala* of the Dee is at Bala in Merioneth. This disposes of Wirral. Now for the facts. In the Chirk Codex, the length of this Island from *Penryn Blathaon* in *Prydeyn* to *Penryn Penwaeð* in *Kernyw* is stated to be 900 miles, *Anc. Laws*, i, p. 184. The latter point is in the extreme south-west of Cornwall, and is marked in modern maps "Tol-peden-penwith"; clearly, therefore, *Penryn Blathaon* is in the extreme north, and *Prydeyn* here is *Prydyn* 'Scotland'. The same measurement is given in the White Book, "o *Benryn Blat*[*h*]*aon* ym Brydein hyt ym Penryn Penwaeð yg Kerniw," *Y Cymmrodor*, vii, p. 124. In "Brut y Saeson" *Myv.* 672, we have "from the extreme point of Cornwall which is called *Pengwayð* to the extreme point of *Prydyn* which is called *Penblathaon*". This is clearly the Medieval

Welsh equivalent of "from Land's End to John o'Groats". A variant is found in the R. B. Mab., p. 109: "o Gelli Wic yg Kernyw hyt ym *Penn Blathaon* ym Prydein". So much for the ridiculous "Balas" and the Cheshire Gogledd.

Caer Liwelydd.—This is the Welsh name for Carlisle; the Old Welsh form occurs in the Nennian Additamenta in Harl. 3859 as *Cair ligualid* (*Y Cymmrodor*, ix, p. 183). The name occurs in the Book of Taliesin, 69·12. The editor, of course, will have nothing to do with Carlisle, because it is in the real North. In his notes he says that *a chaer liwelyð* of the text is an error for "a cher*ir lyw elvyð*", p. 118, and adds:

> The *Kair ligualid* of Harl. MS. 3859, fol. 195, is possibly a cpd. of Lli + Gwelyð, ? *the stream of the Laches.* Prydyð y·Mochnant knew this to be *Chester.* Witness:
>
> Lliwelyð lettawd dy voliant, Llewelyn! P. 166·25.
>
> *Lliwelyð will spread wider thy fame, Llewelyn.* M. 212*a*·47.
>
> Here we have a pointed reference to the alliance of Ll'n with the earl of Chester.

There is no reference to anything of the kind. The bard, Llywarch, Prydydd y Moch, after speaking of Llywelyn's kindness to himself, proceeds thus (to give the sense of the couplet *in full*): "to Lliwelydd thy praise will spread, Llywelyn, and Llywarch has sung it". Llywarch is the bard himself. It is seen that the words omitted by Dr. Evans put a different complexion on the matter. *Lliwelydd* is accusative of motion to, and the verb in both texts referred to has initial *ll-*, not *l-*. We have the usual misquotation, mis-translation, and suppression of context. I need not labour the point, or notice the etymology "Lli + Gwelyð", which belongs to the same class as "the Balas". I come to the facts. Camden (*Brit.*, 1594, p. 602) says, "Romani & Britanni hanc Lvgv-vallvm, &

Lvgv-ballivm, sive Lvgvbaliam, Saxones, teste Beda, Luell . . . . . Nennius *Caer Lualid* . . . nos Carlile, & Latini *Carleolū*, recentiori vocabulo dixêrunt". The passage referred to in Bede is in *Vita S. Cuthberti*, cap. xxvii: "vir Domini Cuthbertus . . . venit ad Lugubaliam, quae a populis Anglorum corrupte *Luel* vocatur". The form in the Antonine Itinerary is *Luguvallium* (see Iter V). Now it is well known that British *-ion* (Latinised *-ium*), being pronounced *-i̯on*, under certain conditions of accent gave Welsh *-ydd*; this was discovered by Rhys long ago.[1] It is therefore clear that, as British *Lugu-belinos* gave Welsh *Llywelyn*, so British *Lugu-balion* gave Welsh *Llywelydd*[2] exactly. The spelling *Liwelydd* is due to the fact that the word had gone out of common use before *i* and *y* were distinguished in writing, in the thirteenth century. It is no exaggeration to say that nothing in British topography is more certain than that *Caer Liwelydd* means Carlisle.

Caer Llion.—In the Nennian Additamenta this name occurs in the ancient form *Cair legion* (*Y Cymmrodor*, ix, p. 183). The Medieval Welsh form is *Caer Llion* or *Caer Lleon*; in the spoken language the second element is now lost, and the name is *Caer* 'Chester'. Dr. Evans, having shifted *Caer Liwelydd* to Chester, is obliged to seek another location for *Caer Llion*. "Can it be that the Cair legion of the [Nennian] list means Holt, to which the name of 'Caer lleon' has adhered?" II, p. xiii. The name has not "adhered" to Holt. The medieval Welsh name of

[1] C'est à Rhys que l'on doit la découverte d'un fait de phonétique, aujourd'hui considéré comme banal: la transformation du *j* indo-européen [that is *i̯*] en la sifflante galloise représentée aujourd'hui par *dd*. En Allemagne, où l'on donne le nom de "loi" à la plus petite découverte, cela s'appellerait la "loi de Rhys".—Gaidoz, *Revue Internationale de l'Enseignement*, 1917, p. 19.

[2] *Llywelydd* may represent *Lugubalion* or *Luguvalion*, but it implies a single *l*.

Holt appears to have been *Castell Llion*, which is found written *Chastellion* in 1311 (*Arch. Camb.*, 1907, p. 9); this was rendered into Latin as *Villa Leonum* (ib., p. 4), or *Castrum Leonis* (ib., p. 11), and into English as *Castle of Lyons*. The form *Caerleon* is found once only, in a license by Edward II, dated 1319 (ib., p. 10). But *Caer Lleon* has adhered to Chester by a tradition so universal and so insistent that our editor himself cannot escape from its grip: he writes "Caer lleon on the Dee, or Chester", p. ix, and renders *Iarll Kaer Llion* "earl of Chester", p. 100. The attempt to make *Gueith Cair Legion* in the "Annales" s.a. 613 into "the Battle of Holt" instead of "the Battle of Chester" can be refuted easily by two quotations: Bede in his account of the battle, uses the words "ad *civitatem Legionum*, quae a gente Anglorum *Legacaestir*, a Brettonibus autem rectius *Carlegion*, appellatur", *H.E.*, ii, 2. William of Malmesbury, also speaking of the battle, says "*Legionum civitas*, quae nunc simpliciter *Cestra* vocatur", i, 47 (cited in Plummer's Bede, ii, p. 77). Thus *Carlegion* is the city of the legions, which in the early twelfth century was called simply "Chester".

Alclud.—The Welsh name *Alclud* became in English *Alclyde*, which was superseded by the Irish name *Dūnbrettan* "fortress of the Britons", now Dumbarton. Bede calls the town "*Alcluith*, quod lingua eorum significat petram Cluith; est enim juxta fluvium nominis illius", *H.E.*, i, 12; Adamnan, even earlier, calls it, as we have seen, *Petra Cloithe*; these spellings represent the Irish pronunciation of the name. The Welsh form is seen in the "Annales" s.a. 870: "Arx *alt clut* a gentilibus fracta est," and in the R. B. Bruts: "870 oeð oet Crist pan . . . torret Kaer *Alclut* y gan y paganyeit," p. 259. No one has ever suggested before that *Alclut* in Welsh literature does not mean Dumbarton; *Din Alclud* is in *Gogledd* according to

Gwalchmei, see above p. 55; *Kaer Alclut* was opposite *Yscotlont* (i.e. Scotland north of the Clyde), R. B. Bruts, p. 63. But for Dr. Evans, Dumbarton will not do at all, and he has by hook or by crook to find an Alclud in *his* North. There is a *Clutton* in Cheshire; the brook which flows by is therefore the *Clud*. "This brook name is old and authentic, for it appears in the Domesday Clut-tone", p. xix. Because the town-name is old, therefore *Clud* must be the brook! Aldford is on this brook; this supplies the *Al-*. Therefore *Alclud* is Aldford. Our good editor invites us to accept a name made by himself, *à la* Lewis Carroll, from the *Al* of Aldford and the *Clut* of Clutton, in place of the Alclyde of history. But even this will not always do: "ryt *alclut* is pure gibberish here. ? Ryt *y Gors*", p. 97; and *Din Clut*, which happens to be spelt *dynclut* in the text, 73·7, is explained in the index as "O. ap Kadwgan".

Caer Weir.—This occurs twice in the text. The first time, 13·7, the editor suggests that it is an error for "*Weri*, i.e. Gwery(ð), a name of part of the lower Dee", see below; the second time, 69·12, it is an error for "K(aer) *Veir*, i.e. Bangor Cathedral, which is dedicated to Meir". So is the church of Llan-fair Pwll Gwyngyll, and I put in a claim for this, though, I confess, I have never heard either church called a *caer*. But, unhappily for both of us, *Kaer Weir* is in the North; it is named in the text with *Kaer Liwelydd*, and is probably, as has been suggested, Durham. The ancient name of the Wear was *Vedra*; and as Latin *cat(h)edra* gives Welsh *cadeir*, so the ancient *Vedra* gives Welsh *Gweir* exactly.

Gweryd.—This is the Welsh name of the Forth. Skene, *F.A.B.*, i, p. 56, quotes a description of Scotland written in 1165 and printed in his *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p. 136, which says that the river was "Scottice vocata

Froch, Britannice *Werid*". The Welsh *Gweryd* is, as Skene dimly saw, the phonetic equivalent of the Irish *Forth*; the Irish *th* implies that a vowel once separated it from the *r*—it corresponds to Welsh *d* from original *t*.[1] The name occurs in our text: *o wawl hyt weryt*, 18·5, 'from the (southern) wall to the Forth'. But the editor will have it that *wawl* is "Domesday's *Waure*, now Woore in the parish of Mucklestone (!) . . . This *Wawl* has nothing to do with any Roman, or other *Wall*, or vallus", p. 86. To which assertion it is only necessary to oppose the testimony of the "Historia Brittonum" (Harl. 3859) that the wall was called "Brittannico sermone *Guaul*",[2] § 23. The editor's next note begins, "*weryt*=Gweryð, i.e. Dee". But final *-t* in this manuscript does not mean -δ, but *-d*: and it is simple misrepresentation to write the name *Gweryδ*, as he persists in doing. But what is the evidence for associating the name with the Dee? Here it is:

> According to *Descriptio Albanie*[3] the river Forth divided 'regna Anglorum et Scottorum' at Stirling in 1165, and was 'Scottice vocata Fro*th*, Britannice *Werid*'. Similarly part of the lower *Dee* divided Saxon and Brython (p. 86).

Because the Dee is "similar" to the Forth in being on a border, therefore he considers that he is justified in asserting, without a scrap of evidence, that it had the same name.

Prydyn.—This is the Welsh phonetic equivalent of the

[1] For the affection of the *o* to *e* in Welsh cf. the verb *gweryd* 'saves' which appears in Old Welsh (Juv. cod.) as *guorit*; cf. also *cegin* from Latin *coquīna*, etc.

[2] Welsh *gwawl* is the equivalent of the Irish *fāl* 'a hedge', and is not derived from the Latin *vallum*; cf. Fick-Stokes, p. 275 f.

[3] This is another title of Dr. Evans's invention. He quotes at second hand from *F.A.B.*, and gives no reference. If he had consulted the *Chron.* he would have seen that the Latin title is *De Situ Albanie*, p. 135.

Irish *Cruithni* 'Picts'. It means 'Picts' and 'Pictland', as *Cymry* means 'Welshmen' and 'Wales', and as *Ffrainc* means 'Frenchmen' and 'France'. Naturally, *Prydyn* is often used more loosely for Scotland; it occurs, as we have seen, as a synonym of *y Gogledd*, and is often mis-written *Prydein*. What is it in the new geography? It is "the modern counties of Flint and Denbigh"! This is "proved" in the usual way. The words "Gwyðyl iwerðon mon aphrydyn" in the text, 13·9, which mean 'The Goidels of Ireland, Mona (probably Man), and Scotland', are quoted thus: "Gwyðyl (rhy·ðoethon) Von a *Phrydyn*", and rendered "the Gwyðyl, who *had come* to Mon and *Prydyn*", p. xx. Again, the line "Kymry eigyl gwyðyl prydyn", 75·19, that is, 'Welshmen, Angles, Goidels, Picts',[1] is misquoted as "Gwyðyl, Eingl, a gwyr Prydyn" and rendered "the Gwyðyl, the Angles, and the men of *Prydyn*", ibid. *Kymry* is left out in order that it may appear that "gwyr Prydyn" are Welshmen; and thus we have the funny collocation "Irishmen, Englishmen, and men of Flint-and-Denbigh", which reminds one of "Cymru, Lloegr, a Llanrwst". Then we are told that a poet in the Black Book, 49·3, "prophecies that there will be war in *Prydyn*: (the Kymry) will defend their coast". The proof here rests on "the Kymry" which the editor himself has put in—it is not in the text. It is clear that he is quite unable to detect in his reasoning the childish fallacy of *petitio principii*. He has satisfied himself that Prydyn is Denbighshire, and states that "It was the translators of the Bruts, towards 1200, who started the Scottish figments," p. xxi. A few moments ago these same "figments" were the "own creation" of "our mentors", p. xvii; now, they were started by the

[1] Cf. Nennius § 7, "in ea habitant quattuor gentes, Scotti Picti Saxones atque Brittones". Scotti=Welsh *Gwyddyl*, 'Goidels'.

translators of the Bruts, who by a sort of miracle anticipated the discovery of modern philology that Welsh *Prydyn*=Irish *Cruithni*. I have only to say that no such miracle ever happened. The word *Prydyn* with its signification was handed down by tradition like any other Welsh word which philologists equate with its Irish cognate; it was used long before 1200 in the lines which the editor misquotes from the Book of Taliesin, and it clearly bears its traditional signification in these lines *as they appear in the text*.

Rheged.—Urien of Rheged, who is mentioned in the "Saxon Genealogies" as having fought against Ida's sons Hussa and Deodric, is the subject of several of the Taliesin poems which have some claim to be considered authentic. The exact position of his kingdom has not been ascertained with certainty. In the Welsh translation of Geoffrey's Brut, Rheged is identified with Geoffrey's Mureif, which, according to the context, was in the neighbourhood of Loch Lomond. Dr. Evans charges all modern scholars with blindly accepting this identification:—

> And the learned of all ages and eminence have trod the path of faith, lost in 'wandering thoughts' and notions vain, without once verifying their references (p. xiii).

This forcible-feeble rant bears the same relation to the truth as his "further testimony" of the Chirk Codex. The facts are as follows. Lewis Morris says that "Rheged is supposed to be Cumbria, now Cumberland" (Stephens, *Lit. Kym.*, p. 267). Sir Francis Palgrave placed Rheged in the South of Scotland about Dumfriesshire, see the map opp. p. 30 in his *History of England*, i, 1831. The Rev. T. Price (*Carnhuanawc*), in his *Hanes Cymru*, 1842, p. 278, identified it with the modern Cumberland. Stephens, in his *Literature of the Kymry*, 1849, p. 53, objects that it was within a night's ride of

Maelienydd (misunderstanding a poem of Hywel ab Owein Gwynedd, noticed below), and places it between the Tawy and the Towy (Gower, Kidwelly, etc.) on the authority of the *Iolo MSS.*, which of course is worthless.[1] In 1852 Stephens identified it with Lancashire (*The Gododin*, p. 371) and in 1853 extended it to the river Swale (ib., p. 238). Nash, in his *Taliesin*, 1858, p. 50, correcting Palgrave, puts Rheged in Cumberland. Skene, *F.A.B.*, 1868, i, p. 59, accepts the identification of the Welsh version of Geoffrey. Rhys, in his *Arthurian Legend*, 1891, p. 238, refers to this identification, but treats Rheged as mythical; "the Welsh translator who identified Rheged with Mureif confounded it thereby with the province of Moray", p. 240; and he thinks that "it may possibly be regarded as somewhat less mythical that Urien should be styled Ruler of Catraeth", ibid. Professor Oman, in his *England before the Norman Conquest*, 1910, p. 239, dealing with the northern British kingdoms in the sixth century, speaks of the "main principality" as "comprising Clydesdale as its central nucleus, but with its capital at Alclyde, north of the Firth, on the rock of Dumbarton. . . . South of it was another state, called Reged, which seems to represent the modern Cumberland with so much of Northumberland as had not yet been conquered by the Angles. Possibly the name Redesdale preserves a memory of this forgotten realm". These are the views that have been held, and it is hardly necessary to point out with what reckless irresponsibility our editor writes when he uses such language as that quoted above. His own view of Rheged is that

[1] Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans quotes from it when it suits his purpose, but is not candid enough to give references. His "Caw . . . 'Lord of Cwm Cowlyd in Prydyn'", p. xxi, is taken from the *Iolo MSS.*, p. 116. It is rendered "Caw . . . lord of Cwm Cawlwyd, in North Britain", ib., p. 515, so that a reference would in this case have been doubly embarrassing.

it is the country surrounding Oswestry; the name "means a Run or March, for it is obviously a metathesis of Rhedeg", p. xiii. "Obviously"! though neither *rhedeg* in Welsh nor *run* in English ever means a 'march' or 'border'.[1] He quotes a line from Cynddelw in which *redeg* has its usual meaning, gives the word a capital *R*, and because *tervyn Caer lleon* occurs four lines before, claims that *Rheged* is not far from Chester. The only other proof offered is the following:—

> Again, Howel, son of Owein Gwyneð, approaching it from the south, mounts his Roan, travelling from Maelenyð to the land of Rheged in one night.
>
> Esgyneis, ar Velyn, o Vaelenyð
> hyd yn·hir Reged rhwng nos a dyð. (*Myv.*, 198b.)
>
> Rheged thus lies between the border of the earldom of Chester and a night's ride from Radnorshire (p. xiii).

Here he is borrowing without acknowledgment Stephens's mistake; *rhwng nos a dydd* cannot in any case mean 'in one night', nor does it mean the interval of twilight; but *rhwng* has the meaning in which it is still used when we say *rhwng y naill beth a'r llall* 'between one thing and another', i.e., 'taking one thing with another'. The exact sense of the phrase in question is put beyond doubt by a passage in the R. B. Mab., p. 88, where it is stated that Maxen's messengers rode from Carnarvon to Rome *yrwng dyð a nos*, "and as their horses failed they bought fresh ones". This shows that "a night's ride" is nonsense; Rheged is a long distance from Maelienydd. The context, which Dr. Evans as usual omits, not only confirms this, but supplies a clue to its position:

[1] "Run or March" shows that he believes that *march* 'a border' is a verbal noun (like *run*) coming from the verb *to march*. If there is any relation between the words, which is very doubtful, it is the verb that comes from the noun; *march* is a cognate of Latin *margo*, etc., and the meaning 'border' goes back to Primitive Aryan.

Arglwyt[a] nef a llawr gwawr gwyndodyt
Mor bell o geri gaer lliwelyt
Esgynneis ar velyn o vaelyenyt
Hyd ynhir reged rwg nos ymy[b] a dyt.—*Myv.* 198b.

[a] Final *-t* = *-δ* throughout. [b] *ymy* makes the line too long. Omit.

'[By the] Lord of heaven and earth, the Lord of a Venedotian,
How far from Ceri [is] Carlisle!
I mounted a bay [and came] from Maelienydd
To the land of Rheged [riding] night and day.'

Ceri is a commote of Maelienydd (which is roughly Radnorshire), see R. B. Bruts, p. 409; and Hywel, having ridden from Maelienydd to Rheged, exclaims "how far from Ceri is Carlisle!" As Ceri was in Maelienydd we may infer that he regarded Carlisle as being in Rheged. This evidence is older than that of the Welsh Brut, for Hywel died in 1170. As Urien was the chief antagonist of the Bernician kings of Bamborough his kingdom may have extended northwards as far as the Southern Wall or even the Cheviot Hills.[1] But he is called "Prince of Catraeth" (*llyw Catraeth*, Book of Taliesin 62·22, cf. 56·14); and Catraeth is probably Catterick[2] in Yorkshire, which Bede calls *Cataracta* (twice) and *Cataracto* (once), Ptolemy Κατουρακτόνιον, Antonine *Cataracto,* an important town

[1] In the eighteenth century there were "some Vestiges of . . . . a street that goes from the Border, viz., from Hownam to Tweed, called the Roman Causey, commonly called by the vulgar the rugged Causey", Macfarlane's *Geographical Collections*, iii, 1749 (*Scot. Hist. Soc.*, vol. liii, 1908), p. 159. The descriptive *rugged* may be a substituted homonym, see below, p. 69, fn.; and this may have been the *Rheged* Causeway, or road to Rheged. Watling Street runs northwards about two miles west of Hounam, and can be traced as far as the Tweed.

[2] This identification was made by Stephens, *Y Gododin*, pp. 30-1. Rhys's objection (*Arth. Legend*, p. 240) that *Cataract-* should give Welsh *Cadraeth* has been answered by Mr. Ifor Williams in *Y Beirniad*, 1911, pp. 76-7. As he notes, *tr* for *dr* is common in Medieval Welsh; but the *rr* of *Catarracta* (καταῤῥάκτης) would (if sounded) give Welsh *rh*, which would *necessarily* provect the *d* to *t*.

F 2

on the great Roman road to the north, though in Camden's time, as now, "magnum nil nisi nomen habet", *Brit.*, 1594, p. 565. Here, after Urien's day, was fought the battle of Catraeth commemorated in the Gododdin. It seems probable, then, that Rheged extended southwards beyond Catterick, possibly to the northern border of the kingdom of Elved, the name of which survives in Barwick-in-Elmet near Leeds. Communication between Catterick and Carlisle was afforded by a Roman road, which branches from the main north road a little to the north of Catterick, see the map in Codrington's *Roman Roads in Britain*. Urien is also called in our text "Uryen yr Echwyð", 57·14, and "Uð yr Echwyð", 58·2, 60·17; and in the elegy attributed to Llywarch "he was shepherd in (*yr*, read *yn*) Yrechwyð", Red Book, col. 1039. *Echwydd* means a 'waterfall',[1] as in

> Wylhawt eil echwyð yn torroeð mynyð, 75·1.
> 'Will weep like a cataract on the breasts of a mountain.'

It seems therefore that *yr Echwydd* is the Welsh counterpart of the Latin *Catarracta*. Thus *Udd yr Echwydd* 'Lord

[1] There seem to be two quite distinct words similarly spelt, but differing in sound: (1) *echwydd* 'flow', rhyming with *dydd, mynydd,* etc.; *redecauc duwyr echwit*, B.B. 88, 'running water flow'; *dwfyn dwfyr echwyδ*, B.T. 32, 'deep flowing water'; *yn dufyr echuyt, Myv.* 227b, 'in flowing water' ('water of baptism' is absurd, and Silvan Evans's reason for it more so). As a verb, we have *Mor, cv threia cud echwit*, B.B. 88, 'the sea, whither does it ebb, whence does it flow?' *Allt ac echwyδ* B.T. 69, doubtful: *a'r hallt a'r echuit* B.B. 87, seems to suggest 'salt and fresh (i.e., running) water'. (2) *echwydd* rhymed with *-ŵydd*, as by H. ab O. G. in *Myv.* 199a, in B.T. 35·2, and apparently in the Llywarch Hên englyn *F.A.B.*, ii, 285, though generally confused with the other word. This *echŵydd* corresponds in form and meaning to the Breton *ec'hoaz* 'heures et lieux du repos du bétail à l'ombre pendant les grandes chaleurs', Troude, s.v. "More usual was a broken shield coming from battle than an ox to the noon-day rest, *ych y echwyδ*", *F.A.B.*, ii, 285. *Awr echwydd* and *pryd echwydd* are given in the dictionaries as 'evening', and Silvan

of yr Echwydd' is parallel to *Llyw Catraeth* 'Princeps Catarractæ'. The scribe of the Book of Taliesin evidently understands *yr* as the definite article; but the article could hardly occur in a name which is undoubtedly old. The element is more probably the prefix *Er-* (= *Ar* in *Ar-von*, with *a* regularly affected by the *y* of *ydd*); the name is written *Erechwyδ* four times in the Red Book, cols. 1040-1, *F.A.B.*, ii, p. 271. It occurs once without the prefix: "when he returned to *Echwyδ* from the land of the Clydemen", 38·21, but this may be an error. The prefix denotes 'a district adjoining', as in *Ar-von*; and *Erechwydd* is not the town but the district, as seen in "gwenwlat *yr echwyδ*", 40·2, 'the fair land of Erechwydd'.[1] In the ninth century "Armes" it is extended to the king-

Evans quotes two examples from Llyfr yr Ancr, under this meaning, though both translate the Latin *hora diei tertia*. The meaning 'evening' has been wrongly deduced from the S.W. dialectal *god-echwydd* or *gwed-echwydd*, 'afternoon', as if the prefix meant nothing; but the *god-* or *gwed-* is *gwedy* 'after-' (Old Welsh *guotig*, *guetig*), so that *echwydd* is 'noon'. There is no foundation for 'evening' or 'west'.

[1] Ptolemy's Κατου- (= *Catu-*) is certain, see Müller's ed., Paris, 1883, pp. 96-7; and proves that the original British name had nothing to do with a cataract. It had two forms: (1) a shorter form *Caturactō*, genitive *Caturacton-os*, and (2) a derived form *Caturacton-ion*; the former may have been the name of the camp at Thornbrough (the original site), the latter the name of the town. *Caturacto*, liable to become later *Cataracto* (cf. Gaulish *Catumandus*, late Brit. *Catamanus*), was very naturally taken by the Romans for *Catarracta*. Popular etymology is apt to substitute for a name of unknown or forgotten meaning another similar in sound but made up of familiar vocables, as *sparrowgrass* for asparagus. Place-names are peculiarly liable to be so treated; English examples are *The Rivals* for Yr Eivl; *Barmouth* for Abérmaw; *Money Farthing Hill* (Heref.) for Mynydd Fferddun; *Bridgewater* for Burgh de Walter; *Waterford* for Widder Fjord, etc. As the examples show, the appositeness (if any) of the substituted homonym is accidental and fanciful. *Catarracta* is such a homonym, and it would be a mere coincidence if there were falls at the spot; Codrington's suggestion that "the river may have been, for defence, held up by a weir", op. cit., 1905, p. 178, is therefore

dom of Rheged: after "from the Wall to the Forth" quoted above, p. 62, comes the line—

> Llettatawt eu pennaeth tros *yr Echwyδ*, 18·6
> 'Their sovereignty will extend (lletta*h*awt) over Erechwydd'.

How Geoffrey came to give Mureif to "Urian"—whether he confused him with the Pictish king Brude *Urgant*, or whether he thought Mureif had something to do with the wall, I cannot say; but since Mureif was assigned in the original to Urien it was natural for the translator or copyist to gloss it as Rheged. The South Wales Rheged is also a pretty obvious fiction; if there had been a Rheged "between the Tawy and the Towy" medieval Welsh literature would not have been wholly silent about it. It appears to be one of the numerous fabrications of the authors of the *Iolo MSS.* Urien had already been brought down to Gower and Kidwelly, seemingly to bolster up the claim of Gruffudd ap Nicolas to be descended from him. The pedigree is given in *Gwaith Lewis Glyn Cothi*, 1837, p. 130, and represents Gruffudd as a descendant of Urien in the fifteenth degree—fifteen generations in nine centuries! In a life of his grandson, Sir Rhys ap Thomas, written in the early seventeenth century and printed in the *Cambrian Register*, 1795, Gruffudd's "descent" is said

unnecessary. Camden derived the name from the falls "hard by" (loc. cit.), though he added later, "but nearer Richmond", 1600 ed., p. 656. Horsely "did not perceive or hear of any fall of water nearer than Richmond, which is three miles from *Cataract* bridge . . . though Thornborough stands higher up the water and a little nearer the falls", *Britannia Romana*, 1732, p. 399. We may assume that these falls were called *Echwydd* (or its Old British equivalent), and that the district *Erechwydd* took its name from this. The fact that the town stood in this district must have seemed a very satisfactory explanation of the fortuitous name *Caturracta*, which apparently ousted the original forms in ordinary use. The Welsh *Catraeth* cannot come from *Cataractō* or any case of it, but represents *Catarracta* (even to the double *rr*, see above, p. 67, fn. 2).

to go "upward in a direct series and long concatenation of worthie progenitors up to Sir Urian Rheged, king of Gower in Wales, prince of Murriff in Scotland, lord of Kidwelly, and knight of the round table to King Arthur", p. 56. This is fabulous enough; but Rheged is not yet identified in it with Gower and Kidwelly—that was the finishing touch of the Iolo romancers.

Llwyfenydd.—Dr. Evans had already in his introduction to the *Black Book*, 1906, p. xxvi, identified a Coed Llwyfein, the scene of one of Owein Gwynedd's battles (*Myv.* 150a) with a defile in Flintshire; he now refers to Edward Lhwyd's *Parochialia* (*Arch. Camb.*, Suppl., April, 1909, p. 85) where an "Afon Lwyven" is mentioned near Flint. There is an Argoed in the parish of Mold (as in several other places); so this country is "demonstrably" Argoed Llwyfein. "It has been pointed out that a Forest 15 miles long by 4½ miles wide stretched along the Flintshire littoral (Prof. Lloyd, *Trans. Cymmr.*, 1899-1900, p. 139) . . . . I identify this Forest . . . . as the *Llwyvenyδ* of Kymric poetry", p. xxii. This forest is the smiling land in the North described by Taliesin, p. 65, the land whose riches and amenities and luxuries it is his to enjoy! There was, no doubt, a Llwyvein in Flintshire, and there are plenty of Levens, which may possibly represent the same name. Skene, accepting the Brut story of a Rheged north of the Clyde, found a Leven at hand, running from Loch Lomond to the sea at Alclyde, and set Urien's Llwyvenydd down there, under the nose of Rhydderch Hael. There is a Leven in Fifeshire, and a Leven in Cumberland, running from Windermere to the sea; but there is nothing to connect these with Urien. *Llwyvenydd* and *Llwyvein* represent different accentuations of the same British stem **Leimanio-*. In Yorkshire original *m* in British names remains in English, as in *Elmet*; and

the Roman road running south from Catterick, in a line so straight as to be noticeable on the map, is called *Leeming Lane.* This may well be the Road of *Llwyvein*, which in sixth century Welsh would be **Lēmein*, with slightly softened *m* and a palatal *n* liable to become *ng* in Welsh itself, as in *Eingion* for *Einion.* Taliesin's *Lloyfenyδ tireδ*, 65·13, are the home lands of Urien; and this district with its Roman road and Roman town, and doubtless many Roman villas then, answers well Taliesin's description of Llwyvenydd as a land of affluence and refinement.

Goδeu.—One of the most amusing things in Dr. Evans's Introduction is his explanation of this name. It is the plural of *cod*: "this bears the same meaning as the second element in the English word peas-*cod*", p. xiv. Apparently he does not know that the Welsh *cod* is borrowed from the English. To explain the initial *G* he assumes that it is the softened form found in the compound *Gwyδ-godeu*, the second element being "used poetically" for the whole! Can any Welshman imagine a name such as *Hengoed*, let us say, being treated "poetically" as *Goed*? As if a *g* in that position were not, to every Welsh speaker's instinct, radically *c*, even now—to say nothing of the twelfth century! Next we are told that *gwyδ* ('wood' or 'trees') means brushwood, and "*gwyδ-godeu* signifies *pod-bearing scrub.* What is *Shrop*-shire but the *schrobbes* (pl.) country of which our Gwyδ-*godeu* is a translation", ib. But if *gwyδ-godeu* is a compound as here assumed, it must mean 'tree-pods', just as *cannwyll-brennau* means 'candle-sticks'. It appears that foot-note 21 is due to a dim consciousness of this difficulty: "Bean-pods = *codeu ffa*; but *ffa-godeu* = bean-stalks tied in bundles". But if *ffa-godeu* means 'bean-stalks', why does not *gwyδ-godeu* mean 'scrub-stalks'? It is unnecessary to dwell on this helpless

floundering, further than to say that *ffagodeu* has nothing to do with *ffa* or *codeu*, but is simply the Welsh plural of the English word *faggot*. The usual pronunciation of the name is not *Godeu* but *Goδeu*, and there is good evidence that this is right. As a common noun *goδeu* in the Book of Taliesin clearly means a forest[1]; and the expression *gwyδ goδeu*, 32·18, is not a compound, but two separate words, separately written in the MS., and meaning 'trees of a forest'—*a blaen gwyδ goδeu* 'and the tips of forest trees'. The other example referred to is not even *gwyδ goδeu*, but *gwyδ a goδeu*, 25·24 (*gwyd* first written *gwydeu*, and *eu* deleted by underdots); the context is as follows:—

> o vriallu a blodeu | bre, o vlawt gwyð a goðeu,
> o prið, o priðret, | pan ym digonet.

> 'Of primroses and the flowers of the hill, of the blossom of wood and forest,
> Of soil, of earth, have I been made.'

A poem entitled "Kat goðeu", pp. 23-7, 'the battle of the forest', contains a fanciful account of the mustering of the trees (the second *godeu* in 24·8 is the unrelated abstract noun *goδeu* 'intention'). As a place-name *Goδeu* seems to mean the country between the two walls. Taliesin speaks of Urien, "Ae varch ydanaw yg goðeu gweith mynaw", 59·11; as "Goðeu gweith Mynaw" is a peculiar expression, we may perhaps assume that *Goδeu* is a gloss, and render, "with his horse under him at the battle of Mynaw (Goðeu)". The battle of Mynaw or Manaw is probably the "Cath Manand" of Tighernach and the "Bellum Manonn" of the Annals of Ulster, which both

[1] Rhys, *Arth. Leg.*, p. 246, connects it with *gwŷδ*, and equates it with the Irish *Fidach*, the eponymus of an unknown district in Scotland. But he does not explain how the Welsh *o* is derived; *gwŷδ*, from **vid-*, is cognate with English *wood*; and the Anglo-Saxon *wudu* was originally *widu* according to Skeat. A form *gwδ-* could come from **vid-*, cf. *gŵr* from **vir-*.

date 582 or 583 (*Chron. of Picts and Scots*, pp. 67, 345). In any case Manaw, generally identified with the country round Slamannan, south of the Forth, either is, or is in, Goðeu. In Brit. Mus. Vesp. A. xiv, f. 11a (early thirteenth century) among the daughters of Brychan is named "Gurycon Godheu . . . uxor Cathraut calchuynid", *Y Cymmrodor* xix, p. 26, i.e., Gwrygon Goðeu, wife of Cadrawd Calchfynyð. Skene has identified *Calchfynydd* with Kelso, formerly Calchow, where there is "a calcareous eminence . . . . still called the Chalk Heugh", *F.A.B.* i, p. 173. Dr. Evans refers to the memorandum in a foot-note, p. xiv: "Gurycon (Vricon-ion) is not a person but a place, i.e., the Wrekin, which is in *Godheu* [*dh* = modern *d*, not δ]". The statement in brackets is not true; *dh* occurs only thrice elsewhere in the document: twice in *Tudhistil*, which appears in the Domitian version as *Tutbistyl*, the original form of the name being probably *Tuduistil*; and once in *Gugan Cledyburdh*, f. 11b, which is clearly Gwgawn Gleðyfruð, R. B. Mab., pp. 159, 304, 306, and proves that *dh* means δ. But how did the Wrekin become a saint? We are to read "[Meilien de] Gurycon". In support of this we are told that "Milburga established a convent at Much Wenlock, which tradition asserts to have been called Llan *Meilien*",—no reference, no proof of any kind that "Meilien" is meant, or was a daughter of Brychan, or the wife of Cadrawd. "Thus", continues the editor, "a Saxon lady becomes a Welsh saint, though the MS. judiciously omits her name." "Judiciously omits"—as when he, for example, writes "Rhun . . . " for "Rhun vab Maelcun"—it saves so much explaining away. Whatever view be taken of the children of Brychan, we have in the memorandum quoted above a record of a tradition which connects *Godheu* with Calchfynydd; and if Skene is right in his identification

of the latter, it implies that *Goδeu* extended down to the Scottish border. In the historical poems in the Book of Taliesin "Goδeu a Reget" occurs twice (60·10, 62·7), and seems to stand for the British regions of the North, as Deira and Bernicia stood for the Anglian.

Aeron.—According to Dr. Evans this was "a district—extending, apparently, from Eulo to Chester", p. xix, a distance of about six miles as the crow flies—it has been difficult to find room for this "district". This identification is supported by three "quotations"; in the first, *Vlph* is assumed to be Ranulf, son of Hugh Lupus, and *Urien* is rendered "Owein", and assumed to be Owein Gwynedd; thus the proof is founded, as usual, on his own assumptions. The second is similar: "When Henry II disappeared from the Ceiriog valley in the rain, he went to 'sojourn and shelter in Aeron', 63·6". In the passage referred to there is no mention of Henry II, or of Ceiriog, or of "sojourn" or "shelter". The third is as follows: "Owein Gwyneδ extended his rule from Anglesey to Tegeingl, to Aeron, to Chester". Here we find the names beautifully arranged, so that Aeron takes its place nicely between Tegeingl (Flintshire) and Chester, as it should according to the theory. Turning to the reference *Myv.* 153, we find something quite different. The words occur in Cynddelw's elegy on Owein Gwynedd; here is a literal translation of as much of the context as is necessary to make the meaning clear—the first two and last four lines of the stanza:—

> It is not a falsehood [to say that] he [was] the best hero
> From the German Ocean to the Irish Sea;
>
> . . . .
>
> To Canterbury, to maintain the privilege of the Britons,
> To Leicester and to Chester,
> To East Anglia, to Anglia, to Aeron, went forth
> His supremacy from Penmon.

The passage, then, does not bear the construction which Dr. Evans puts upon it; and it contains no reference at all to Tegeingl. This name he has himself substituted for *Ystrei(n)gl* 'East Anglia' (cf. Bede's *Estrangli, H.E.* iv, 17), and *Eingl* 'Anglia', so that we have here, on a smaller scale, something like the "further testimony" of the Chirk Codex. This is followed by the assertion that "*Aeron* was also the Welsh name of the 'Pulford' brook". It is not thought necessary to offer any proof of this astonishing statement, but a confirmation is suggested: "This identification is confirmed by the association of *Aeron* with *Clud*:

> Priodawr clodvawr *Clud* ac *Aeron*. (*Myv.* 160.)"

The line occurs in Cynddelw's elegy on Cadwallawn mab Madawc; it means "the renowned ruler of Clud and Aeron", and refers to "Gwryal Gwron", to whom the dead man is compared. (In passing, is not the "renowned ruler" of two little brooks a trifle absurd?) The person meant is obviously the first named in the triad of the "kings who rose from serfs", namely, "Gwryat vab Gwryon yn y Gogleð", R. B. Mab., p. 308, *Y Cymmrodor* vii, p. 132. Aeron then is, like Clud, in the North; which is nothing new, for it is clearly in the North in the Book of Taliesin and the Book of Aneirin, though in the former the Cardiganshire Aeron is also mentioned, 73·4. But where is this northern Aeron? Skene identifies it with the river Avon which runs between Linlithgow and Stirlingshire; this view rests on most precarious grounds, and must be rejected, as Mr. Williams has shown[1]; so

[1] *Y Beirniad*, 1912, p. 118. Skene read *dylleinw aeron* in his own reproduction of B.A. 17·2, and saw *auon* (*avon*) in other copies; he jumped to the conclusion that *aeron* = *avon*. Mr. Williams has not noticed that in the MS. the reading is *auon*, which someone has tried to correct into *aeron* (see Facsimile). Dr. Evans rightly prints *auon*.

must his own hesitating suggestion that Aeron may have been south of Rheged. Dr. Evans is no doubt quite right in attaching importance to the association of *Aeron* with *Clud* in the line which he quotes—his error is the fundamental one of mistaking the Clyde for a Cheshire streamlet; the passage proves the existence of a tradition in the twelfth century that the kingdoms of Clud and Aeron were united under Gwryat. *Clud* is Strathclyde: what can *Aeron* be but Ayr, which lies between Strathclyde and the sea—the outer Firth of Clyde? The union of the kingdoms took place after the period with which we are dealing; and it may be that Gwryat was the king whose death is recorded in the Annals of Ulster, s.a. 658: "Mors Gureit regis Alocluaithe", *Chron. of Picts and Scots*, p. 349. It is not inconsistent with this identification that in one of Taliesin's poems Urien "came" to Aeron, 61·9, or that in another he is called a "defender in Aeron", 63·5-6. He is the first of the four kings named in the "Saxon Genealogies" as having fought against the sons of Ida, the three others being Rhydderch, Gwallawg and Morgant. The last two, like Urien himself, were descended from Coel, whose kingdom was in Aeron, and whose name still clings to the district of Kyle; and either or both may have ruled in that region. In any case Urien fighting in Aeron would be defending the territories of his kinsmen.

Eidyn.—Dr. Evans writes this name *Eiδin.* This is a late and incorrect form; the *-in* is due to the assimilation of unaccented *y* in the ultima to *i* in the penult, as in the spoken *gwreiddin* for *gwreiddyn*, see my *Welsh Gram.* p. 111, iii; but the *δ* for *d* can only be explained as due to

Curiously enough, *aeron* seems from 38·2 to be the true reading, and *dylleinw*, as Mr. Williams has seen, is an error for *dyleith*, so that there was no 'flood' and no 'river' in the stanza originally, and Skene's *Avon* is a ghost.

misreading the written form, owing to the fact that both *d* and *δ* are written *d* in late medieval orthography. In the old poetry the name always rhymes with *-yn*; thus in the Black Book, in which *i* and *y* are not distinguished in the spelling, but are distinct in the rhymes, *Eidyn* rhymes with *a chinbin* (*cynbynn*, 'dog-heads') and *cuitin* (*cwyδyn* 'they fell'), 95·8, and with *tytin* (*tyδyn*) in one englyn, and *brin* (*bryn*) in another in 64·1·4; in the Book of Taliesin it rhymes with *brithwyn*, 22·22, and *kyverbyn*, 30·1; in the Book of Aneirin with *arwynn*, 5·9, and *gwehin* (*gwehyn*), *disgin* (*disgyn*), 33·16; in each case the rhyme is *-ynn*, distinguished from *-yn* in early verse. In the Black Book medial *δ* is generally written *t*, but this name is consistently written with *d*, as *eidin* 94·14, 95·7, *idin* 64·2·5—contrast *tytin*, *cuitin*, above. In the Welsh Genealogies in Harl. 3859, it is written *eitin* (*Y Cymmrodor* ix, p. 173), which is decisive, for in the Old Welsh spelling of this document medial *t* regularly stands for *d*, and medial *d* for *δ*. The correct form of the name then, in modern and late medieval spelling, is *Eidyn*. In spite of the clear and conclusive evidence of the manuscripts our editor not only writes the name *Eiδin*, but actually cites this as the form in the Black Book. "*Eiδin*", he says, "is in the border country"—the Welsh border. The proof divides itself into two parts. The first part is as follows:—"In *Prydein* in *Eiδin* (Owein Gwyneð) is acknowledged chief: also at Gavran on the Brecon border, 30·20". History, he says, accords with this, "but there is not so much as an old wife's tale to vouch for his sway on the Forth", p. xxiii. The editor himself indicates that the name "Owein Gwyneð" is not in the text by including it in brackets—it is his own assumption; and on this assumption the proof entirely depends. The second part consists of identifications

which depend entirely upon the mistaken form *Eiδin.* Thus the Black Book is said to refer to "*mynyδ* Eiδin 95·7, which is synonymous with *Bre* Eiδin, now Breiδin Hill". Now in the first place the reading in the Black Book is "minit eidin", which, correctly transcribed, is *mynyδ Eidyn*; and medieval *d* cannot be equated with modern δ. In the second place the argument implies that *Breiδin* is a modern contraction of a name which was *Bre Eiδin* in the twelfth century; but as the hill was called *Breiδin* in that century, the argument falls to the ground. The name occurs twice in Gwalchmai's "Gorhoffedd"; first in *Dygen Freiδin*, rhyming with *hin*, *trin*, *ffin*, and many other words all ending in *-in* (*Myv.* 142b); secondly in *bre Freidyn*, which is *bre Freiδin*, since it rhymes with *trin* (ib. 143a); in the original manuscript the symbol for δ is used in both cases. *Bre Freiδin* finally disposes of the *Bre Eiδin* theory; and the twelfth century *Breiδin* cannot possibly have anything to do with the *Eidyn* of the Book of Taliesin. The other identifications repose upon the same error, so that it would be waste of time to discuss them. Eidyn is certainly in the North; this is sufficiently evidenced by the name of Clydno Eidyn, one of the four leaders of the men of the North whose names Dr. Evans "judiciously omits" in giving the "testimony" of the Chirk Codex. Ab Ithel identifies "Eiddin" with Edinburgh (*Gododin*, 1852, p. 99); Stephens, about the same time, writes it "Eidyn, or Eiddyn, or Eiddin", and equates it with the *Edin* of "*Edin*burgh," (*Gododin*, 1888, p. 178). Reeves (*Vita S. Columbæ*, 1857, p. 202) says that *Etan* (in "the siege of Etan", Tig. 638, An. Ult. 637) "is not Edinburgh . . . . but *Cair Eden*, the *Eiddyn* of Aneurin . . . now Carriden, a parish on the Forth, in Linlithgowshire, the identification of which we learn from the interpolator of Gildas' History: 'Kair Eden, civitas

antiquissima, duorum ferme millium spatio a monasterio Abercurnig, quod nunc vocatur Abercorn.' (Capit. 9, Monument. p. 5.)". Skene adopts this view: "Etain was no doubt Eiddyn or Caereden" (*F.A.B.*, i, p. 178, cf. p. 172). *Eidyn ysgor* occurs in the Book of Aneirin, 4·5; and *esgor Eidyn*, 29·12; Skene's note on the former is "The fort of Eiddyn or Caredin" (ib., ii, p. 374); *Eidyn gaer*, 27·15, comes still nearer in form to Caredin. But *Dūnedin* is the old name of Edinburgh: Skene quotes from a life of Saint Monenna "Dunedene que Anglica lingua dicitur Edineburg[1]" (ib., i, p. 85), *Dineidyn* occurs in the Book of Aneirin, 33·5, and in the Book of Taliesin, 29·18; and few will disagree with Skene when he says that this "can hardly be anything but Dunedin" (ib., ii, p. 367). It is therefore futile to ask "where is there anything to connect Eiðin with Edinburgh?" *Mynyδ Eidyn* in the Black Book is doubtless Edinburgh too. In the Book of Aneirin, Mynyðawc Mwynvawr is 'lord of Eidyn', *ut*[2] *Eidyn*, 35·11, about the end of the sixth century; a generation earlier Clydno Eidyn led the raid to Gwynedd to avenge Elidyr Mwynvawr, see above, p. 47. As *Eidyn* survived both in Carredin and in Dunedin, it has been assumed that it was the name of a district including both;[3] it would lie just to the east of Manaw. The supposition is likely in itself, and suggests that the unintelligible *o berth Maw ac Eidin*,

[1] *Edwinesburg* (Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, i, p. 240) is not older than the twelfth century, and seems to be a theoretical form, which failed to supplant the actual name. In the tenth century Pictish Chronicle the town is called *Oppidum Eden* (*Chron. P. & S.*, p. 10). The name *Edin* must be older than Edwin, and there appears to be no old authority for his supposed connexion with the town. Bede, for example, says much about Edwin but is silent about Edinburgh.

[2] Transcribed mechanically from a twelfth century copy, in which $t = \delta$.

[3] Baring-Gould and Fisher, *Lives of British Saints*, ii, 1908, p. 152: *Y Beirniad*, 1911, p. 255.

B.T. 29·26, should be *o barth Manaw*[1] *ac Eidyn.* But originally the name may well have been the appellation of one of the two strongholds, more probably perhaps of the "civitas antiquissima" *Kair Eden.*[2]

I have now dealt with the more important northern names occurring in the Book of Taliesin, and with Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans's attempt to prove that they denote places on the Welsh border. His argument is a tissue of false reasoning which betrays a mind that has never properly understood what "evidence" or "proof" means. He founds categorical statements on purely suppositional grounds. He has not realized that the basis of an argument must be an undisputed fact; he even builds on the very suppositions that are disputed. The greater part of his argument is one gigantic *petitio principii*, or begging of the question. *What he has to prove* is that Taliesin lived in the twelfth century, and sang to Owein Gwynedd; in order to prove this, he has to show that northern names denote places on the Welsh border; he shows that they are on the border and not in the North by insisting that "Owein Gwynedd never was in Scotland", p. xvii, and that "there is not so much as an old wife's tale to vouch for his sway on the Forth", p. xxiii; but this is only the minor premise, it has no force without the *implied* major premise that Owein Gwynedd is *meant* (though not named) in the poems. It is quite clear that this is implied, and is the basis of the argument; it is also the conclusion of the argument: and the whole is worthless, because there is nothing that you cannot prove if you start by assuming

[1] *Maw* by the commonest of scribal errors, the error of anticipation, by which the scribe in writing the first *a* took it for the second.

[2] Ptolemy's Πτερωτὸν στρατόπεδον was on the Moray Firth, and is identified by Skene with Burghead (*Celtic Scotland*, i. p. 74). Camden, wrongly identifying it with Edinburgh, explains the latter as 'Castrum Alatum', quoting Welsh *adain* 'wing' as a cognate.

it. The argument from the poems is wholly of this character; the middle term is not always Owein Gwynedd —it may be Hugh Lupus or Henry II; but the conclusion is always implied in the premises. The misquotations from the text are dictated by the same fallacy; it is *because* the poems were written in the twelfth century that the text is altered in order to adapt it to the conditions of that time—there is absolutely no other reason for the numerous alterations of perfect lines; and the text thus altered is quoted to prove that the geography is that of the twelfth century, and *therefore* that the poems *were* written in that century—where we began: it is always the same vicious circle. The rest of the "proof", apart from ridiculous etymologies such as *Godeu* from *cod*, consists of deductions from misquotations of passages from the medieval poets and from the Chirk Codex. The context, and all details, which, if quoted, would reveal the true meaning of the passages, are suppressed; a common noun *dyheδ*, for example, is quietly changed into a proper name *Dyved*; names are re-arranged to give an effect foreign to the original. Dr. Evans is, of course, quite unaware of practising any deception; he has unconsciously practised it all upon himself, and in his Introduction he is presenting in good faith the arguments by which he himself has been convinced. Like many others who labour under delusions he believes that he alone is sane:

> It will be more serviceable to the student to canvass the geography of such names as Gogleδ, Prydyn, Aeron, Clud, Argoed Llwyvein, Llwyvenyδ, and Eiδin, which have so hypnotized my precursors as to paralyse their critical faculty (p. xix).

He has arrived at this conclusion by intuition, not by studying the works of his "precursors", with which he shows little acquaintance. The literature of the subject is referred to only in the vaguest terms; there is no hint

of any divergence of views among its writers; they are all included under a common ban; they are "our mentors", "our high priests", "learned professors", etc. Sharon Turner's *Vindication,* the main points of which remain unanswered, is not mentioned. There is no mention even of Nash's *Taliesin,* in which a twelfth century origin of the poems was maintained sixty years ago. There is no reference to Stephens's classification of the poems, or to Carnhuanawc's earlier discussion of the persons and places named in them. Zimmer's *Nennius Vindicatus* is not referred to; there is a reference in a footnote to Mommsen's edition of Nennius, which is stated to be "edited by Prof. Zimmer", p. viii. Skene's *Four Ancient Books* Dr. Evans has read, how carefully may be gathered from the fact that he asks (II, p. v), "did he not understand and translate the whole?" when Skene expressly states (vol. i, p. 17) that the translation was prepared for him at his request by the Reverend D. Silvan Evans and the Reverend Robert Williams, "in order", he says, "to avoid any risk of its being coloured by my own views"—how unlike Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans! However, Dr. Evans has some acquaintance with Skene, whose views he assumes to be representative: Skene accepted the Brut Rheged, which our editor then recklessly attributes to "the learned of all ages and eminence", in the same breath accusing them of not "once verifying their references"! At one time the "Scottish figments" were started by the translators of the Bruts, p. xxi; at another they are the "creation" of "our mentors", p. xvii, chiefly Skene, of course. Rhys in his *Celtic Britain,* is sneeringly stated to have "followed the Scot's lead", II, p. v; he followed the lead of all his predecessors from Lewis Morris and Evan Evans to Stephens and Skene.

The twelfth century geography of the poems, which

has been revealed only to Dr. Evans, is the complement of another revelation, namely, that the sixth century personal names are eponyms of twelfth century characters. To his mind the one proves the other. Urien is Owein Gwynedd because Urien prevailed "in Gogleð"; and Gogleð is Cheshire because "Owein Gwyneð never was in Scotland". That is exactly the reasoning at the bottom of p. xvi and the top of p. xvii. I have shown that the last statement is valueless for the argument without the assumption that Owein Gwynedd is Urien, that is, without assuming what has to be proved. The geographical theory is based on the eponym theory, and on misrepresentations; the proof of the eponym theory from the geographical theory must therefore be disallowed. Let us see if there is any independent evidence of it:

> Turn we then to Urien of whom we read that he fought Ida's successors, and was pre-eminent among his compeers as a military leader. So was Owein Gwyneð among Kymric princes: hence is *nom de guerre* of Urien. That this is not an assumption witness the elegy by his contemporary, Kynðel, who describes Owein as "lord of Penmon . . . shepherd of Mon . . . . the war-lord of the conflict of Argoed Llwyvein . . . . dragon of Coeling . . . . terror of Bernicia . . . . [a] blessed dragon of the West". These lines might come from Taliesin's poems to Urien, so familiar do they sound (p. xvi). [a] *Myv.* 152.

A detail which is omitted here, and which invalidates the comparison, is that in Cynddelw's elegy Owein Gwynedd is *named*:

> Am *Owein Gwyneð* yd gwynant.—*Myv.* 151b.

Owein Gwynedd's "lordship" doubtless "extends from Penmon", and he is "shepherd of Môn", but where is Urien called "lord of Penmon" or "shepherd of Môn"? Owein Gwynedd is not "war-lord of Argoed Llwyvein", but is compared to Owein ap Urien (*yngwryd Owein* 'with the valour of Owein'), whose spirited reply to the foe is

given in Taliesin's poem on Argoed Llwyvein, to which Cynddelw clearly alludes. Urien is not called a "dragon of Coeling" or a "blessed dragon of the West": he is *Udd yr Echwydd*, and *Echwydd* is not "West", but "Cataract". As to "the terror of Bernicia", if taken literally, it would rather prove that the twelfth century poet wrote in the sixth; but we know that *Deifr* and *Bryneich* were used by the bards down to the fourteenth century and even later, e.g., Lewis Glyn Cothi, p. 155. The fancied resemblances, then, amount to this: that Cynddelw calls Owein Gwynedd one thing, and Taliesin calls Urien another thing, and that Cynddelw compares Owein Gwynedd to Taliesin's hero Owein ap Urien. That is the whole of the proof so far as it is not directly founded on the geographical theory. The next point is that "Owein was the generalissimo of all Wales, and Urien was 'lord of Prydein', 61·23". The argument here rests on the assumption that Prydein is Wales; this assumption has been refuted above, and the argument disallowed. The next is similar:

> Kynđel tells us that he was "the prime hero as far as Chester; that his sovereignty spread as far as the March of the Angles—as far as Aeron."

This is the passage of which a different rendering is quoted above, p. 75. Here East Anglia and Anglia become "the March of the Angles"; for another purpose, as quoted above, they were Tegeingl, between which and Chester Aeron was so neatly placed. Lastly:

> Taliesin's Urien prevailed at Rhuđlan; in the Aeron country; in Gogleđ; at Arđunwen, i.e., in that township of Mold in which Montalt is situated; and at y Rhodwyđ.

On this then depends the proof that Taliesin's Urien is Owein Gwynedd. We have already disposed of Gogledd and Aeron as begging the question. *Rhodwyđ* occurs in

the text as a common noun, 62·2, and the reference is not indexed. There is no *Arðunwen*[1] in the text, but *Arddunyon* occurs, 30·9, also not indexed; there was a battle at *Arddunyon*, but who fought or who fell is not stated. There remains the statement that "Taliesin's Urien prevailed at Rhuðlan". This looks like a pure invention, and one wonders how the editor came to make such a statement. I turn up *Ruðlan* in the index, and find the references "xvi, n. 35·7". The reference "xvi" is to this very statement; the other is to this note: "35·7 teir caer = ? Conwy, Deganwy, and Rhuðlan". The expression *teir caer* occurs in a cryptic poem, in which Arthur is mentioned but Urien is not. It is seen then that on the assumption, *which the editor himself queries*, that Rhuðlan *may be* one of "three forts" alluded to in an obscure poem which has nothing to do with Urien, he bases the categorical statement that "Taliesin's Urien prevailed at Rhuðlan".

Such are the grounds on which the editor confidently asserts that Taliesin's Urien is Owein Gwynedd. But the equation lands him in many difficulties, of which he makes no mention in his Introduction. *Glyw Reget* 'prince of Rheged', 57·7, is "corrected" to *glyw rygas* 'behated prince', p. 109, II, p. 158; but this prince is Urien, so Urien here must be O. ap Kadwgan, and "*Urien*, 57·8, is used for *Owein* because of cynghaneð". By *cynghaneð* here he means rhyme; similarly in 42·7 Urien is "Owein (K.) to rhyme with Dygen", p. 100; so if the easy demands of the rhyme require it, Urien, the special eponym of Owein Gwynedd, may be used for Owein ap Kadwgan or Owein K(yveiliog) at will! Again Taliesin's

[1] Professor Lloyd says that the name is properly *Arddynwent*, and that Montalt is *not* situated in this township though the township is in the *parish* of Mold.

Urien is *llyw Katraeth*, 'prince of Catraeth', 62·22, which is hardly appropriate to Owein Gwynedd; this is "corrected" to "llyw can draeth", and explained as Henry II, 'along the shore'! p. 112, II, p. 114. Again, Taliesin's Urien, and the Urien of history, had a son, the famous Owein ap Urien, whose elegy appears in the text. Now Owein Gwynedd cannot be the son of Urien if he *is* Urien, for even Dr. Evans understands that a man cannot be his own son; and Owein Gwynedd had no son of the name of Owein. Therefore the very name Owein ap Urien shatters the theory—unless it can be got rid of. Let us see how the editor attempts to explain it away. The elegy opens thus:

> Eneit Owein ap Vryen
> Gobwyllit y ren oe reit.

Each line contains seven syllables, and the last word in the first (Ury*en*) rhymes with a word in the middle of the second (*ren*); all the couplets end in *-eit*. Dr. Evans's notes are as follows:

> 67·18 *ap Urien* does not occur elsewhere in Tal. The *ap* is unintelligible here. Urien might be a gloss on Owein. Cynghaneð and metre make both impossible.
>
> 67·18 *ren* antcpn. of *re*id. Read: *ner*=bp. of Bangor . . . . Ren, i.e. rëen is a dissyllable always.

The *ap* is perfectly intelligible, and is stated to be "unintelligible" only because it is inconsistent with his theory. For the statement that "cynghaneð and metre make both [Owein and Urien] impossible" there is no justification whatever. *Ren* is stated to be a scribal error in which the *re* of *reid* is anticipated, so the editor changes it to *ner*, destroying what cynghanedd there is in the line, (the alliteration of *ren* and *reit*), as in dozens of other cases in his absurd list of scribal errors. Turning to II, p. 124, we find that he gives the couplet thus:

> Eneid Owein, *rhy·wyssid*,
> Gobwyllid y ner o·i raid,

and renders it—

> The Soul of Owein *has been summoned*,
> & his (spiritual) lord has come to his rescue.

Instead of *ap Uryen* he puts in his own "rhy·wyssid" to rhyme with *Gobwyllid*; and pretends in his note that cynghanedd and metre demand this garbling, when nothing but his theory demands it. Now let us see what the metre does demand. He is right in saying that *ren* is a dissyllable *reen*; therefore the second line is too long. But it is obvious that *reen* here denotes the Deity, and in that sense it is never preceded by the article *y*, and such a proclitic as *y* 'his' is unusual. The only emendation required therefore is the omission of this *y*. The lines will then read—

> Eneit Owein ap Uryen,
> Gobwyllit Reen oe reit,

that is—

> The soul of Owein ap Uryen,
> May the Lord have regard to its need.

This very simple, almost beautiful, couplet has to be mutilated and turned into bathos in the interests of a mad theory. But the theory alone does not account for the vandalism; there is incompetence and blindness as well. Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans has the haziest ideas of tenses, of the uses of words. He renders *gobwyllit* as a perfect: the third singular active termination *-it* (or *-id*) can only be *either* present indicative, *or* present imperative; the latter is a survival of the old optative, and is the part generally found before *Duw* or *Rhên*, as in *gwrthleðit Duw pob drwc* 'may God ward off all evil', Llyfr yr Ancr, p. 26. Of the meaning of *reit*, modern *rhaid*, 'need', in this connexion he has not a glimmer, though it and *angen* are frequently thus used, as in the Red Book, *gwares Duw dy anghen* 'may God relieve thy need', *F.A.B.*, ii, p. 220,

and as late as the sixteenth century *Gras Duw i'n rhaid* 'the grace of God (provide) for our need!' *Gorchestion*, 1773, p. 296. For his mistranslation he has no excuse but his own blindness, for Robert Williams renders the line correctly, except that he includes *y* 'its' before *Ren*: "May its Lord consider its need". Another example of the same denseness is seen in our editor's rendering of the last line of this poem. The line is

Ny rannet rac y eneit.

The inital *n* is a Hiberno-Saxon *r* misread as *n*; reading the positive *ry* instead of the negative *ny*, the line means 'it [his wealth] was given away for his soul'. The editor never sees any error of reading from the Hiberno-Saxon script, because it upsets his theory; but he sees that the phrase is positive, and emends *ny* to *in* 'to us', which is a jarring false note. He gives the rest of the line as "rhag*or* i Eneid" (which makes it too long), and renders this "his soul goes marching on"! As "rhagor i Eneid" is an idiom of his own invention, he can of course make it mean anything he likes. But why make any change at all? Clearly because he is ignorant of the common expression *rhag i enaid* 'for his soul', although it occurs, for example, in the Black Book 84·4·5, *ba beth oreu rac eneid* 'what is best for the soul?' and in the most familiar of Dafydd ap Gwilym's "poems of the fancy":

A'r gog *rhag f'enaid* a gân . . .
Paderau ac oriau . . .

'And the cuckoo *for my soul* shall sing paternosters and hours,' 1789 ed., p. 60. Dr. Evans has often transcribed, but never grasped, the idiom, and so, while he flatters himself that he knows "the dainty tread of the Chief of Bards" p. xxix, he recognises it as the tramp of "John Brown's Body". To return to his difficulties, there is

rather a formidable one in the eleventh line of this elegy, which reads—

Pan ladawd Owein Fflamdwyn.

It means, 'When Owein killed the Flamebearer'. Now Owein Gwynedd did not kill Henry II. How is the theory to be saved in the face of this? By mistranslating the line thus: "When Owein pressed the Flame-bearer hard"! It will not do. *Lladd* does *not* mean 'to press hard'; in other combinations it may mean 'to cut', or 'to strike'; but *lladd dyn* means 'to kill a man', and no quibbling can make it mean anything else. No one has ever dreamt that *Na ladd* means 'thou shalt not press hard', or imagined the ghost of an ambiguity in this very form *lladdodd* in the story of Cain and Abel, Gen. iv, 8; and what is true in this respect of the Welsh Bible is true of Welsh literature generally.

It is certainly a little unsatisfactory that Owein Gwynedd's eponym should be used of others; to add to the confusion, Owein Gwynedd has other eponyms. The first of these is *Cunedda*. The editor has found it rather difficult to discover reasons for the appropriateness of this eponym. He tell us that Cunedda "is said to have been the first to bestow land on a church", p. xxiv. By whom, or where, it "is said" we are not told. Baring-Gould and Fisher know nothing of it; they give "S. Cunedda" a place "among the Welsh Saints more as the ancestor of one of the three great lines of Saints than for any other claim he may have had", *Lives of British Saints*, ii, p. 191. Dr. Evans goes on to say that Cunedda "became thus the eponymus of such as did likewise". We have only his unsupported statement that Cunedda "is said" to have done it, and the proof that Owein Gwynedd "did likewise" is the fact that he was buried at Bangor:

Tradition assigns to his [Cunedda's] alleged descendant,

> Maelgwn, the credit of being the first benefactor of Bangor Cathedral, which, after it was burnt down in 1102, still found friends in the house of Gwyneð. Witness the honour of burial near the altar given to the remains of Griffyð ap Kynan, and to those of Owein Gwyneð.

As a proof of the theory that Cunedda means Owein Gwynedd, this reasoning may be allowed to speak for itself. It is followed by an account, summarised from Professor Lloyd's history, of Owein Gwynedd's ecclesiastical troubles, which the editor shows to be referred to in 69-70 by quoting his own translation of the text as "amended" by himself. In the emendations the theory is of course assumed, so that we have here only another example of the editor's persistent habit of proving a thing by assuming it in his premises. After this circular argument there is a digression intended to throw discredit on the Welsh genealogies in Harl. 3859:

> But "Cuneða" is an impossible derivative of Cun*o*-dag,[a] which would give Cynða in twelfth century Welsh. The very form "Cun*e*ða" shows that the compiler of the Harleian pedigrees was combining material of various dates and origin.
>
> [a] I do not question Cuno-dag being an ancient form picked up somewhere. But its transformation into "Cunedda" proves that the compiler was a late, i.e., twelfth century fabricator.

The form in the Welsh genealogies is *Cuneda*, see *Y Cymmrodor* ix, pp. 170, 172, 178 bis, 181, 182; and this is a quite possible form for the end of the tenth century, when these pedigrees were compiled. In the "Saxon Genealogies" we find the older form *Cunedag*, see the frontispiece to this volume, l. 14; this is the form that would be written at the time of the final redaction of the tract about the end of the eighth century, or even at the time when it was first written, a century earlier. "Cuno-dag" does not occur at all! It is a hypothetical or imaginary form "picked up somewhere" by Dr. Evans himself. The statement that the *fact* (*Cuneδa*) is "im-

possible" because it does not accord with the *supposition* (*Cuno-dag*) is characteristic; and the suggestion that *Cune-* is twelfth century betrays the editor's ignorance of the fact that the stem-vowel often appears as *-e-* in the sixth century, as in Gildas' *Cune-glase*.[1]

A third eponym of Owein Gwynedd is Maelgwn:

> Maelgwn, likewise, is the eponym of Owein Gwyneð, whose son Rhun is said, in the Chirk Codex, to be the son of Maelgwn . . . the first Gwledig of Gwyneð (pp. xxv-xxvi).

This is the "further testimony" of the Chirk Codex over again. There is not a syllable of truth in the statement that Owein Gwynedd's "son Rhun is said, in the Chirk Codex, to be the son of Maelgwn". Rhun ab Owein Gwynedd is not mentioned at all in the manuscript; nothing "is said" about him. Rhun vab Maelcun is mentioned, and the context and the whole purpose of the memorandum, which is to account for ancient privileges, show that Rhun vab Maelgwn is meant. Dr. Evans is not, of course, consciously uttering a falsehood; he is

[1] The first element in *Cune-dda* is not the usual British *Cuno-* or *Cune-*, which gives Old Welsh *Cin-*, Medieval and Modern *Cyn-*, as in *Cin-glas* (*Y Cymmrodor* ix, p. 172), now *Cyn-las*, but the equivalent of *cun* 'lord', which would be **kouno-* in British (perhaps *Caune* is the fem., genitive). The British form then would be **kouno-dagos*. The stem-vowel of the first element of a compound is usually lost, so that one would expect *Cun-δa*; but it may be retained, as shown by *Dino-gat*, which exists as well as *Din-gat*. The vowel in the inscriptions often appears as *e* or *i*, see my *Gram.*, p. 190, possibly representing the obscure vowel *e*, written *y* in Welsh. But the obscure vowel tended to become *e*, so that we have, for example, *re-medau*(*t*) in Old Welsh (Juvencus) for *rhy-feddawd* from original **(p)ro-med-*. In Ogam the stem-vowel appears as *a*, which is the Irish modification; it appears as *a* in Welsh in *Dinacat*, another form of *Dingat*. It is *a* regularly before *w*, as in *Tudawal*, *Dyfnawal*, beside *Tudwal*, *Dyfnwal*. The *o* of *Dino-gat*, the *e* of *Cune-δa*, and the *a* of *Dina-cat* probably mean that the forms became stereotyped at different times. The last element **dagos* in the original form of *Cuneδa* is the adjective which is now *da* 'good'.

simply, as usual, mistaking his assumptions for facts. He *thinks* that Rhun vab Maelgwn in the Codex *means* Rhun vab Owein Gwynedd, and proceeds to state this as a fact. He probably intended to say that Rhun ab Owein *is called* in the Codex the son of Maelgwn; but "*is said*, in the Chirk Codex, *to be* the son of Maelgwn", is more effective, and gives the impression that the Codex itself *says* so. Undoubtedly the editor deceives himself by these verbal tricks, as much as he deceives his confiding readers. The underlying assumption in this statement is that Maelgwn in the memorandum is an eponym of Owein Gwynedd; this explains, though it does not excuse, the "Rhun . . ." of p. xvii, see above p. 49. It is only necessary to note further the confusion of thought which, from assuming the use of eponyms for special reasons by Taliesin, proceeds to extend the assumption to a prose record to which no such reasons apply.

Brochfael Ysgythrog was Prince of Powys in the middle of the sixth century, and was succeeded by his son Cynan Garwyn. The poet says that he sang before Brochvael Powys, 33·7; and a poem to his son, Cynan Garwyn, appears on p. 45. Dr. Evans notes these references to Brochfael and Cynan, and comments thus:

> If we credit the *Chronicles*, Brochvael died in 662; while his son, Cynan Garwyn, was living in 870, i.e., 208 years later.[a] Add to this the account of Taliesin being "renowned" around 550. History of this sort reduces one to a melancholy, thoughtful silence—not with regard to Taliesin, but in respect of his commentators (p. xxv). [a] Lloyd, 250.

One need waste no time in discussing the rhetoric of the last sentence; but the libel on the writers of Welsh history which is insinuated in the whole quotation is not to be tolerated, and its misrepresentations must be exposed. In the Annales Cambriæ, a certain "Brocmail" is said to have died in 662; so far from taking this to refer to

Brochvael Ysgythrog, Mr. Phillimore, in the standard edition of the text, expressly says in a note that "Brochwel Ysgythrog . . . cannot possibly be meant if the date 662 is right", *Y Cymmrodor* ix, p. 158. Next, Professor Lloyd is accused of stating in his *History of Wales*, p. 250, that "Cynan Garwyn was living in 870". Professor Lloyd of course says nothing of the kind; what he says is that the dynasty of Meirionydd was "represented about 870 by a certain Cynan ap Brochwel"; and he refers in a footnote to "Pedigree xviii in Harl. MS. 3859 (*Cymmrodor* ix, 178)", which shows that this Cynan was the son of "Brochmail map Iutnimet", while Cynan Garwyn was the son of "Brocmayl map Cincen", pedigree xxii. Further, on p. 180, Professor Lloyd, speaking of the "Brocmail" who, according to Bede, was responsible for the protection of the monks at the battle of Chester, adds this footnote:

> "Brocmail" can hardly be Brochwel Ysgythrog, ruler of Powys, for his grandson, Selyf ap Cynan, was slain in this very battle. Nor is it likely that he is the "Brocmail" of the year 662 in Harl. MS. 3859 (*Cymmrodor* ix, 158). The name was, in fact, a very common one; see *Cymmrodor* ix, 177, 178, 179, 181, 182, and for the early form, "Brohomagli", *Inscr. Chr.* No. 158, *Lap. W.* 202, *W. Phil.* (2) 372.

Even if our historians were guilty of the anachronisms which they are thus careful to avoid, what has that to do with Taliesin's commentators? The argument apparently is this: the historians do not know the period of Brochfael Ysgythrog and Cynan Garwyn, who are assigned to the seventh or ninth centuries, and therefore could not be the contemporaries of a mid-sixth century Taliesin; hence words fail the editor to express his contempt for the "commentators" who regard a sixth century Taliesin as singing to the real Brochfael and Cynan.

What then is the explanation of Brochvael and Kynan

Garwyn? They are respectively the eponyms of Owein Keveilog, prince of Powys, and of Kynan ap Owein Gwyneð, lord of Meirionyð, which was once ruled by Kynan Garwyn.

A "Correction" on p. xlvii bids us "For Owein *Keveliog* [*sic*] read Owein *Gwyneδ*"; so during the passage of the book through the press Owein Gwyneð acquired a *fourth* eponym. The purpose of the alleged "History of this sort" is now clear. If the personages of the poems lived in the age when tradition says Taliesin flourished, a twelfth century hypothesis is unnecessary and improbable. But if the persons named lived at different times, the eponym theory furnishes a possible "explanation". For the editor's theory, then, this is a test case; and there is one simple fact which decides it against him. Selyf, the son of Cynan Garwyn, fell in the battle of Chester, in 616 at the very latest; his father Cynan and his grandfather Brochfael must therefore, by normal computation, have been contemporaries of the Taliesin of tradition.

"Besides the *eponymous* we also have an *epithetic* class", p. xxvi. This class comprises Haearður, Hyfeið, Gwallawc and Mabon. The first name is changed by the editor to "Haearneið" and explained as a "man of iron". "Hyveið means the *intrepid*, courageaux—suggested, perhaps, by Courcy"! Someone seems to have pointed out to him that *courageaux* is a rather unusual spelling, so he inserts the correction, "Delete *x* in '*courageau*-x'", p. xlvii; he evidently misread his friend's *a* as *x*! "*Gwallawg* means *missing* or *lost* (at sea)", and therefore denotes Henry fitz Henry! It is scarcely necessary to remark that *gwall-* in personal names (e.g., *Cad-wall-on*) has nothing to do with *gwall* 'want, defect'[1]; if it had,

[1] It is generally agreed that the element *val-* is allied to Latin *valēre*, etc., Fick-Stokes p. 262; *vall-* is probably from the same root, though Stokes derives it from the root *vel-* 'to wish' on account of the Gaulish *vell-* (in *Cassi-vellaunos*, etc.), ib. p. 276; the "full-grade" vowel is *e* in either case, and the assumption of two roots is unnecessary.

gwallawg would be the adjective which means 'negligent'. There are, of course, *gwall-gof* and *gwall synnwyr*, so that, if something is to be supplied, 'wanting (in sense)' is more likely than 'lost (at sea)'; and there are plenty of people to whom such an "epithet" would apply. "*Mabon* is the scion of a princely, or royal, line", and there are two or three of him. The method is a very elastic one, especially in Dr. Evans's hands: he alters *Haearddur* to bring it within his comprehension; he translates *Hyveidd* into French which he cannot spell; he mis-translates a false etymology of *Gwallawg*, in order to get rid of Gwallawg vab Lleenawg, the contemporary and kinsman of Urien. Such is the proof of the theory of the "epithetic class".

In what he calls "The Argument" in II, p. 1, Dr. Evans writes: "The bard, or bards, after the fashion of this time, sang of contemporaries under assumed names". The *suggestio falsi* "after the fashion of this time" is inserted in order to make the statement more convincing. Anyone who will run his eye over the Contents of the *Myvyrian* will see at once how false the suggestion is; all the bards of the twelfth century sing of the princes under their own names. The nearest parallel that Dr. Evans has discovered to what he postulates of the Taliesin poems is Cynddelw's elegy on Owein Gwynedd; but in that, as pointed out above, p. 84, Owein is called by his own name, a fact which Dr. Evans omits to mention. It is, however, a fact that is vital; it constitutes a difference not in degree, but in character, between the things compared. A bard commonly enough styles his patron "Nudd" if he is generous, "Arthur" if he is valiant, "Cei Hir" if he is tall, and so on; but it is always a passing compliment, *predicated* of an *expressed subject*. There are no poems "To Nudd," "To Arthur," "To Cei," in which, as in

Milton's "Lycidas" for example, the pseudonym is itself the *subject* of the poem, taking the place of the real name. Yet Dr. Evans's assumption is that all Taliesin's poems are of this nature. The puzzle to me is how anybody could have conceived so improbable an idea. He is, of course, honestly convinced of it. When he implies that the use of "assumed names" was "the fashion of this time", he is not consciously equivocating; he is thinking of the use of pseudonyms as *predicates*, which was common; he confuses that with their use as *subjects*, which was, to say the very least, unusual; and he adduces the commonness of the first use in support of his assumption of the second. In spite of this self-deception he is at other times conscious of the fact that the practice which he attributes to Taliesin is exceptional, for he gives special reasons for the poet's resorting to it:

> When times are out of joint, men and places are not spoken of by their normal names. Mystification becomes expedient in order to protect life and liberty . . . . Under such circumstances when the friendships of one day were the enmities of the next, a border bard like Taliesin could not, perhaps, sing with safety to himself and his patrons, except cryptically and pseudonymously (p. xv).

So he did it to save his skin. And the curious thing is that he was never found out—until our editor divined his secret! His being "a border bard" is rather a poor excuse for the despicable cowardice which so signally marks him off from his fellow bards. The works of the twelfth century poets present many difficulties, but this particular form of intentional "mystification" is not one of them.

It will have been noticed that in the above quotation from II, p. 1, Dr. Evans speaks of "The bard, *or bards*". The reason is that he believes that the historical poems "deal with events from the death of Rhun in 1147 to that

of John in 1216", p. xxviii. They cannot therefore all be by a "Taliesin" who was born about 1105, and so "those referring to Richard and John, as well as their Kymric contemporaries, are, in my opinion, by some other poet or poets", p. xxix. Only two references to the text are given in the Introduction in support of the view that some of the poems deal with Richard and John. The first is as follows:

> We have an echo of the Crusades, and plaints about taxing the monasteries to release King Richard from the Hual Eurin, 51·6 (p. xxviii).

The reference is to a poem on Alexander the Great, of which the beginning is lost. Pages 49-50 of the manuscript are missing. The catchword at the end of p. 48 is *kyneilwat*, which means 'poet; supporter'.[1] But to Dr. Evans it "suggests a calling together of men for the Crusades", p. 105; he mistakes the *-at* for an abstract noun ending, and takes the stem to be *galw* 'call'. He finds in this misconception a clue to the drift of the lines at the top of p. 51, two pages further on. The poem on that page he therefore takes to be an

[1] The termination -(*i*)*ad*, when it affects a preceding vowel, always denotes the agent. It affects *a* as in *ceidwad* from *cadw*, or *e* as in *neirthiad*, from *nerth*. The base here is *cynnelw* 'composition, song', whence the verb *kynnelwaf* 'I compose, sing'; both generally followed by *o* 'of' as *kynelv o douit*, B.B. 18, 'a song of the Lord'; *kynnelw o δewi* (*o* misprinted *a*) *Myr.* 194a; *Teithi cerδorion cynnelwi o haelon*, ib. 123a, 'it is the privilege of minstrels to sing of the generous'; *a'm kerδ a'm kynhelw ohonaw*, 176a, 187a. The person is also introduced by *gan*, as *Neud cennyd cerdd glyd cynnelwaf*, 190a 'Of Thee I will compose a song of praise', cf. 162a, 166a. Cf. also *Prydesteu kymry, kymrodyal kynhelw*, 188a, and *kynnelwaf* as a synonym of *prydaf* in 189a 54-5. *Kynheilweit* 'singers', 182b. The verb has the above meaning when it is intransitive, or has *cerδ*, etc., for its object: when a *person* is the direct object, the verb means 'to support', as by testimony in a court of law, *Anc. Laws*, i, p. 156·2. *Kynheilwat* 'supporter', *Myr.* 183a, 205b.

Elegy on Richard I, except lines 10-21; "these lines, which are manifest interpolations, deal with the story of Alexander", p. 106. But *Alexander* occurs in l. 6; the editor suggests that it means there "? Saladin"! As Mr. Ifor Williams has pointed out *Y Beirniad*, 1916, p. 137, Dr. Evans has not seen that the name of *Darius* also occurs twice in the first nine lines (it is wilful blindness, for Skene's translator gives the name in each case). Thus:

Ef torres ar *dar* teir gweith yg kat.

'He defeated Darius thrice' rendered literally in Skene (i, p. 566): "He broke upon Darius three times in battle". In Irish, *brissim cath for* 'I break battle on' is a common idiom (Windisch, *Ir. Texte*, I, p. 404): and Mr. Williams has pointed out to me that it occurs several times in the Irish story of Alexander printed in the *Irische Texte*, II, ii, as *bris in cath sai for Dair*, p. 25, literally, 'broke that battle on Darius'. But Dr. Evans changes *ar dar* into *ardal*, and renders the sentence "He burst our borders three times in war"! II, 131. Further on, he changes the name *dar* into *i dad* "his father"! But the whole poem is clearly about Alexander and Darius; in line 6 Alexander overtakes him in his flight from the third battle (Arbela); thus:

gyrth y goðiwawð alexander;
yn hual eurin gwae a garcharer,
ny phell garcharwyt; angeu dybu
ac lle ef kafas ergyr o lu.

'Swiftly Alexander overtook him; in golden fetter woe to him who is imprisoned, he was not imprisoned long; death came, and he where (*ac ef lle*) he was wounded by (his own) host.'

It is an unmistakable allusion to the story told by Orosius, and repeated in the middle ages, that Darius was bound in golden fetters by his own people (*vinctum compedibus aureis*,—in King Alfred's English, *gebunden . . . mid*

gyldenre racentan[1]), and that Alexander found him all alone dying of his wounds. And yet the *hual eurin* 'golden fetter' is, according to Dr. Evans, King Richard's prison, though no authority for such an interpretation is even hinted at.[2] As for the "plaints about taxing the monasteries", there is not so much as his own translation to vouch for their being dreamt of in the poem.

The other reference is as follows:

> We have also, here and there, details not found in the Bruts. For instance:
>
> *John* disarmed the Promontory at the Gate of Godoðin:
> And, at the great Ubbanford, the shank-plaided King;
> I leave the *Scot* to his fears. 42·4.
>
> This refers to John's northern expedition in 1209 when he took Berwick Castle, built on a promontory, etc.

The italics are the editor's own, and denote that the words so printed are supplied by himself. There is no *John* in the text—the verb is in the first person singular 'I disarmed'; and there is nothing about a "promon-

[1] See both the Old English translation and the original in *King Alfred's Orosius*, E.E.T.S., no. 79, pp. 128, 129. In the Irish story, above referred to, the expression is *i cūimrigib ordnige* 'in honourable fetters', where *ordnige* is an obvious error for *ōrdigib* 'golden'.

[2] In dealing with the lines which he himself recognises as being concerned with Alexander, the editor shows little more understanding of the text. Mr. Ifor Williams notes the following three egregious blunders in lines 18-21:—(1) *bron loscedigion* 'breast-burnt' refers to the Amazons, who are called *cīchloiscthi* 'breast-burnt' in the Irish tale also, p. 50; cf. ἁπάσας δ' ἐπικεκαῦσθαι τὸν δεξιὸν μαστὸν, Strabo, xi. 504. Dr. Evans changes the text to *bron-loscent* "whose breasts burnt (with constant humiliation)."—(2) *Ogadeu afor*, i.e. *o gadeu â Phor* 'of battles with Porus' is emended by Dr. Evans to *a godei afar* and rendered "which gave rise to fresh sorrow".—(3) *milwyr mageidawn* 'the soldiers of Macedon' is turned into *milwyr vagent ðawn*, and rendered "the soldiers received a boon". How *magu* can mean 'to receive' no note explains. *Alexander magidawr* 'Alexander of Macedon' occurs on the next page, with the common mistake of *r* for *n*; but this suggests nothing to the editor but "? mygrðawn", p. 106.

tory" or "Ubbanford" or a "King", or about leaving anyone to his fears. In II, p. 193, the "*John*" is "*He*", with "*John*" as antecedent rendering *Ynyr* in a previous line. *Ynyr*, then, is an "eponym" of John. These later poets, it seems, imitated "Taliesin" in the use of eponyms; were they also "border poets" afraid to name even English kings? There are several more of their eponyms in the notes. "The Teyrnon of 34·15—26 is, clearly, Richard I, who figures as Arthur in 54·15 to 56. Richard was a poet," etc., p. 94. Corroi m. Dayry, the Irish Cūrōi mac Dairi of the Cūchulinn legend, is John, p. 115; and "Mab *D*airi = mab *H*arri, *i.e.*, John," p. 116. I find from the Index that John also "= Caw 72·11; = Ercw(lff) 65·26, 66·2·6; = Erov 65·24." Cocholyn, that is Cūchulinn, is Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, p. 115. I do not propose to tax the reader's patience (or my own) with a detailed examination of these absurdities.

The reconstruction of Taliesin's biography is perhaps as remarkable as anything in the book. "I quit the question of authorship", we read, p. xxix, "to summon the poet to tell his own story". This theatrical utterance represents the editor's attempt to express vividly, and thus to communicate to his readers, the illusion under which he himself labours,—the illusion, namely, that when he is quoting his own translation of his own sophisticated text, it is Taliesin that speaks.

> The first item connects him with a border settlement.
>
> I played at Llychwr—I slept at Pulford, 26·8.
>
> Pulford is situated five miles south of Chester on the road to Wrexham. To the North of Pulford is the township of Lache. The English Dialect Dictionary defines Lache as "a pond, a pool, a swamp," etc. This too is the meaning of the Welsh Llychwr. Now every child's "sleeping place" is his home, and his "playground" is usually near, as Lache, or Llychwr, is to Pulford (p. xxx).

In the "Corrections", p. xlvii, this is to be amended thus—

> The rhyme suggests Llychfforð for Llychwr, and topography confirms it, for the English of the emendation is Lache Lane. Lache means "a pool, ditch, deep cart-rut", etc. Now what playground can be imagined more delightful to a boy than a lane abounding in ruts filled with water? The lane runs, etc.

There are boys and boys, no doubt; speaking for myself, puddles awaken no joyful memories in me. But all this about Taliesin's being born at Pulford and delighting in puddles is derived from a hopeless misunderstanding of the following short couplet:

Gwaryeis yn llychwr,	I played in the daytime,
Kysceis ym porffor, 26·8.	I slept in purple.

The name of Pulford is written *Porford* in Breuddwyd Rhonabwy, R. B. Mab., p. 144; and as the place is near Chester, it was perhaps inevitable that Dr. Evans should jump to the conclusion that *porffor* in the couplet was a mistake for *Porforδ*. At first he was satisfied with *Llychwr*—the rhyme did not matter; but then it occurred to him that if this were changed into *Llychfforδ* it would correspond better to Lache Lane, and then the rhyme *did* matter. And now observe "the 'Art of Lubrication', or, so to speak, 'greasing' the descent from the Premises to the Conclusion".[1] Taliesin slept at Pulford—that is absolutely all the text says on that point, even if we admit that *porffor* is Pulford; it is quoted as if it meant that he slept there *regularly*; thus we are led smoothly to the first conclusion, that Pulford was the bard's home (when young, for he played); this again is almost imperceptibly stretched so as to mean his *original* home, and "the Pulford origin of Tal." is spoken of as proved, p. 102. Thus by suffixing a mere *-d*, and adding a *little*

[1] Edwin A. Abbot, *Philomythus*, 1891, p. 213.

meaning at each step, the editor believes that from words which mean 'I slept in purple' he has legitimately drawn the conclusion that Taliesin was a native of Pulford. It is not cunning, but mere inability to handle words with accuracy; a plain example of this is seen in note 44·2, p. 102, which speaks of "Tal. being *formerly* a native of the district": the italics are his own, and show that he wrote "native" without the least thought of what it means. Now let us examine the couplet and its context. The rhyme is *-or*, which is continued in the next couplet, as is often done in these poems. The *-wr* of *llychwr* is a half-rhyme, which is called *proest* by Welsh prosodists, and frequently takes the place of exact rhyme in the oldest poetry. There is therefore every reason to suppose that both *llychwr* and *porffor* are correct readings. The meaning of *llychwr* may be gathered from its compound *cyf-lychwr*, which, like *cyf-nos* and *cyf-ddydd*, means 'twilight'; *llychwr* then must mean either 'night' or 'day', 'darkness' or 'light', and as it may be derived from the fertile root which gives the Latin *lux*, we cannot be far wrong in inferring that it means 'daylight'.[1] Again, *gwaryeis* does not necessarily refer to the period of youth at all, as is proved by the phrase *pan aeth pawb allan y chware* 'when everybody went out to play', R. B. Mab., p. 116, or rather 'to disport', for it is not said of little children. The meaning of our couplet, then, is that the bard at the time spoken of led a royal life; he amused himself during the day, and at night slept in purple. It occurs in "Cad Goðeu", one of the so-called transformation poems, which are the last in which most people would

[1] The prefix **kom-* (cognate with Latin *com-*) is regularly *cyf-* before *n-* and *l-*, as in *cyf-nos* and *cyf-lychwr*; but *cyf-ddydd* must be due to false analogy (for **kom-d-* becomes **kon-d-*, and ultimately *cyn-n-*), and is therefore necessarily a late formation. It seems to be a form that sprang up to take the place of *cyf-lychwr*.

think of looking for biographical details. The poem begins "I have been in many forms", and goes on to name them: "I have been a sword . . . I have been a tear in the air . . . I have been a word . . . a book . . . a bridge . . . a coracle . . . a drop in a shower . . . a sword (again) . . . a shield . . . a harpstring", etc. There follows the fanciful account of the trees fighting in the battle of Goðeu or the Forest; then, a statement that he was not born of father and mother, but created out of fruits and flowers (see above p. 73); he was called into existence by the spell of Math, by the spell of Gwydion. He is a fine poet. He has lived royally. That is the context. The next two couplets are:

neu bum yn yscor	I have been in a fortress
gan dylan eil mor,	With Dylan Eil Môr,
y*ng* kylchet ym perveð	On a couch in the centre
rw*ng* deulin teyrneð. 26·9	Between the knees of kings.

Dylan Eil Môr is Dylan Eilton of the Mabinogion, connected with the sorcerers Gwydion and Math, who are purely mythological personages,—degraded gods, in fact; all three are related to Dôn, the Welsh equivalent of the Irish *dea Danu* or *Donu*, 'the goddess Danu' or 'Donu', the mother of the Irish gods, the *tūatha dē Danann*. And out of this mystical-mythical stuff Dr. Evans derives the information that Taliesin was a native of Pulford! To proceed, we are next told that

> His second item shews him a bard.

Ceint, er yn vychan,	I sang, though I was little, in the
yng·hâd Godeu-vrig	fight at the north end of Godeu,
rhag Prydein Wledig. 23·20.	against Prydein's ruler. ii, 29·25.

> In 1121 Meredyð ap Bleðyn sent young bowmen over the borders to Powys to intercept Henry I in a wild woody height . . . . . Note that the bard is youthful; that Pulford is not far off; and that he is *against* the Powysland ruler (pp. xxx-i).

This quotation comes from the same poem. The words

are wrenched from their context, and a word, *keint*, is omitted without notice. The full passage is as follows:

nyt mi wyf ny gan,	I am not one who sings not,
keint yr yn bychan:	I have sung since I was little;
keint yng kat godeu bric	I have sung in the battle of tree-tops
rac prydein wledic.	Before the Gwledig of Britain.

The first point to note is that two prepositions are wrongly rendered by our editor. The use of *er yn* for *er fy mod yn* 'though I was' is modern journalistic Welsh, imitating English *though*; in idiomatic Welsh *er yn* means 'since I was'.[1] In a poem attributed to Dafydd ap Gwilym in the appendix of the 1789 ed., p. 498, the poet says (of Morfudd), "I have set my affection on her *er yn fab*, since I was a boy"; in the *Bardd Cwsc*, p. 28, we read "*agos er yn blant* (*yn* misprinted *ein*), almost since they were children"; and Hugh Maurice, in *Eos Ceiriog*, i, p. 313, uses the very words of our text:

> Goreu 'i fuchedd *er yn fychan*,
> 'Best conducted *since he was little*,'

speaking of a man in years. As we have seen more than once, Dr. Evans lacks the instinct for these things: so undeveloped is his feeling for the genius of the language that he mistakes an old idiom for modern journalese. Next, *rhag* is rendered by him "against"; and the chief point of his application of the quotation rests on this mistranslation, which is not only given the emphasis of italics, but is further specially insisted on in a footnote. And yet the very words *keint rac* (33·6, 34·5), 'I sang before', are rendered correctly by him on pp. xxv and xxxv. Why does *keint rac*, which meant 'I sang before,'

[1] The modern *er yn ieuanc* 'though young' is, like the modern *pan yn ieuanc* 'when young', a slavish rendering of the English; but the literal equivalent of the idiomatic *er yn ieuanc*, namely 'since young', is not English.

on p. xxv, and means 'I have sung before' again on p. xxxv, so emphatically mean 'I sang *against*' on p. xxxi? Simply because "*against*" is what the theory requires here; and the editor is free to follow its requirements because he is not bound by any precise conception of the usages of the word. The mistranslation of these two prepositions, with the omission of the first line and the second *keint*, falsifies the whole meaning of the passage, which, it is scarcely necessary to add, has nothing to do with Henry I or the Powysland ruler.[1]

> Again, when Taliesin was
> a slender twig, inexperienced in craft, 7·15,
> he went to a congress of the bards where he was tested:
> I was sifted in every faculty by the Brython bards, 7·13.
>
> The use here of the adjective Brython suggests that he himself was not a Brython. If he was a native of Aeron, this would be true geographically, and might be ethnologically (p. xxxi).

The argument rests on the second quotation. Turning to 7·13, I find that the words have been evolved out of the obscure opening lines of "Buarth Beirdd"; the text is—

> Ed ympeilli & ympwyllat.
> y veird brython prydest ofer.
> ymryorsseu ymryorsed.

The first and third lines are unintelligible. The second, which seems to be a comment on the first, means 'To the bards of the Britons (it is) inane poetry'; apparently, therefore, the first is a quotation. It is certainly reminiscent of a line in one of the additional stanzas of the

[1] *Prydein wledic* is probably the *Dux Britanniarum*, if Rhys is right in supposing *Gwledig* to be the Welsh rendering of both *Comes* and *Dux* (*Celt. Brit.*, 1884, p. 104). The title does not seem to have survived into the sixth century—Maelgwn is not styled a *gwledig* (Lloyd, *Hist. of Wales*, 100, 128 fn.). The line is probably to be classed with *Bum . . . gan Dylan*, etc., and as mythical as the Battle of the Forest itself.

Book of Aneirin: *edili edili ui puillyat* 37·4. The third may be an expansion of 'inane poetry'; but emendation is too hazardous to be useful. To Dr. Evans, however, the triplet is plain; he amends it thus, II, p. 6:

> Ev y'm peillied ym·*hob* pwyllad,
> *gan* veirð Brython, *a'r cawceiniad*,
> Pryðest over *yng·hyw·rysseð*:
> A'm rhy·or·seif a'm rhy·or·seð

and gives the following translation, II, p. 7:

> I was sifted in *every* faculty *by* the
> Brython bards, *and the crowned minstrel.*
> Poetising is futile *in competition*;
> My competitor, *however*, chairs me.

The italics denote the editor's insertions; in the text they are his own; in the translation they are mine, because he has not been candid enough to own them. These italics furnish the only comment which it is necessary to pass on the version. But attention may be called to two points. First, the preposition *by* in the editor's quotation, which gives it the meaning required for his purpose, is his own insertion. Secondly, the word *Brython* on which the argument is founded is, in all probability, a misreading. To show this I must quote the fourth line:

> digawn gofal y gofan gorð,

that is, 'Sufficient care to the smith (is his) hammer', meaning, no doubt, 'Let the cobbler stick to his last'. The line is quite simple, and the editor understands it[1]; but he cannot keep his fingers off a plain line like this.

[1] Except that he inserts "young" before "smith" because he thinks that the *-an* of *gofan* is a diminutive suffix. He is clearly ignorant of the fact that *gofan* is the full form of the word, representing the stem, which is seen in the plural *gofein*, in the name *Gofann-on*, in the Irish genitive *gobann*, in the Gaulish *Gobann-icnos*, etc.

To satisfy some perverse whim of his own he turns it inside out, thus (II, p. 6):

Yr govan goval ðigawn gorð.

He upsets the metrical balance of the verse because he has no notion that such a thing exists. The *cynghanedd* in the original is of the form technically called *braidd gyffwrdd*, which consists in two words with similar initial syllables being set in the middle of the line, so that the *rhagwant*, or caesura, comes after the first, and divides the line into two equal, or approximately equal, parts; thus (*Myv.* 143a):

Gwalchmai ym *gel*wir | *gel*yn y Saeson.

The verse under consideration is an obvious example:

digawn *gof*al | y *gof*an gorð.

Dr. Evans's lop-sided caricature of the line betrays his complete ignorance of its structure; he had clearly no inkling of it. Now line two is an imperfect example, which has very much the appearance of having been mutilated by a scribe who, like Dr. Evans, had no ear for *cynghanedd*. And, when one comes to think of it, *beirð Brython* is a somewhat odd expression[1]; surely, the reading must be *beirð Prydein* as in 43·21. By making the substitution the line is suddenly transfigured:

y veirð *Pryd*ein | *pryd*est ofer.

It should be noted that *prydest* is the correct form of this word; *pryðest*, which Dr. Evans writes, is a modern mis-

[1] The normal form would be *beirð o Vrython* as in 64·2, as we say *seiri o Saeson*, not *seiri Saeson*: but the *o* would make the line too long. *Plwyf Brython* 72·23, 73·18, and *pobl Brython*, 77·13 'the nation of the Britons' are different, the genitive here being the genitive of apposition, as in *tref Lundein*, etc. *Brython* is not an "adjective" as stated by Dr. Evans.

reading of the medieval spelling.[1] In all probability, then, the author of this line, whoever he may have been, never wrote the "adjective" *Brython*, on which Dr. Evans, by manipulating a preposition, founds his argument that Taliesin was not a Briton.

The editor continues—

> His parentage, like that of Myrðin, is wrapt in mystery; it might be unknown even to himself. Hence the play of fancy as to his magical origin.
>
> 'Twas not of father and mother that I was born.
> I was created, after a new fashion, from nine constituents:
> From the essence of fruits; from primrose flowers; . . 25·21.

We are now back again in the transformation poem "Cad Goðeu"; and this is the interpretation of its mysticism.

> A passage like that suggests that Taliesin sought to escape, in imagination, from a cruel experience. His father might have been a bird of passage—say a Norman baron: his mother might have perished, or abandoned him before memory began; thus leaving him utterly forlorn in the world, without kin or the knowledge of kin (pp. xxxi-ii).

So it is not the mystery of man's existence that the poet essays to express, but the mystery of his own parentage. Taliesin was a bastard! His father *might have been* a flitting Norman baron; his mother *might have* abandoned him. As deductions from the evidence, it will be agreed that these suggestions are preposterous. I prefer to say nothing further on this matter.

Taliesin chides the monks for their praise of poverty, according, of course, to the editor's translation of a passage which he does not understand. As for Taliesin himself—

[1] It seems to be a formation like *glodd-est*, derived from the stem of *prydu*, 'to compose poetry'. In the Williams MS., in which medial (and final) ð is regularly written *t*, this word appears as *prydest*, 40a, 42a. In *cynghanedd* we find *prydest* corresponding in consonantism to *pryder* in *Myv.* 179a 28, and *prydein*. 151b 7.

He was worse than poor. The fate of St. Patrick overtook him; he was captured, and set to herd (?) swine:

I was a slave of Kynbyn; I was a herd besides. 26·21.

Kyn*v*yn was the father of Bleðyn, the founder of the historical house of Powys. "Kynvyn" here must be the eponymus of Meredyð ap Bleðyn, who died in 1132.

Here again the quotation is from "Cad Goðeu". It occurs in one of the transformation passages; I give it with the two preceding lines, in order that it may be seen in its setting:

bum neidyr vreith y mryn.	I've been a speckled snake on a hill;
bum gwiber yn llyn.	I've been a viper in a lake;
bum ser gan gynbyn.	I've been a billhook (cutting ?);
bum bwystuer hyn.	I've been a pointed beast-spear.

Dr. Evans, of course, quotes his own translation of his own text (II, p. 38), in which *ser* 'billhook' has been changed into an imaginary *serw* from the Latin *servus*,[1] and *bwystuer*, = *bwyst-ver* 'beast-spear', a natural and likely compound to denote a hunting-spear, has been changed into *bwyst-ner* 'beast-lord', an absurdly improbable designation for a herdsman. He changes *gynbyn* into *Gynvyn*, though *b* and *v* were not easily confused in writing before the fourteenth century. The form *cynbyn* occurs in *a chinbin* in the Black Book 95·8; Arthur contends at Mynydd Eidyn against *cynbyn* 'dog-heads', and "they fell by the hundred before Bedwyr"; it seems to denote a race.[2] It may of course be an error in our text;

[1] Latin *servus* would give *serw* in Welsh, so that this *might have been* a word for 'slave' in Welsh. But "might-have-been is not evidence"; and no evidence is adduced, not a single reference is given, to show that such a word exists.

[2] Apparently a vague recollection of the fabulous Cynocephali, Augustine, *Civ. Dei*, xvi, 8. The Irish equivalent is *conchend.* The race of Partholon were slain by *Concheind* 'Dogheads' (*Proc. Royal Irish Acad.*, xxviii, sec. C, p. 125). Later in the same MS, the race of P. were destroyed "by plague" ib. 126. In *Irische Texte* i, p. 217, *conchend* is used for a spear (or battle-axe ?): "he shakes the dog-head (*conchend*) of battle slaughter in front of his sword".

in that case the most probable emendation is *ser gynhyn* ‘cutting billhook’, as *b* and *h* were easily confused; the form occurs as a plural noun, *cynhynneu*, in the Red Book, col. 1151, l. 35, and the singular of this became later *cinnin* ‘a snippet’.[1] Lastly, Dr. Evans changes *hyn* to *ar hyn* ‘upon this’, which he renders “besides”. The lines are of five and six syllables, and five seems to be the standard length. The fourth line is of five, *buum* being a dissyllable, of which *bum* is a medieval contraction. As *r* + *rh* sounded like *r* + *h*, *bwystver hyn* is very probably for *bwystver ryn* ‘pointed spear’;[2] cf. *gwaewaur rrinn*, B.B. 46·3. In any case the leading words are all clear, and of the tenor of the passage there can be no possible doubt; the bard has been a snake and a viper, a billhook and a hunting-spear. We need not at the moment inquire into the meaning of this mysticism, but it is clearly all of a piece; yet the editor supposes the second couplet to be autobiographical. He substitutes for the word for ‘bill’ a supposititious word for ‘slave’; and he replaces the word for a ‘hunting-spear’ by an incredible compound ‘beast-lord’, which he renders “herd”. He quotes his version of the text thus garbled without giving any indication of the changes made; in fact, the reference he gives is 26·21, as if the version represented the original text and not the garbled text of II, 38. And this is what he calls summoning the poet to tell his own story.

[1] *Cynhynn* may be from **kon-tend-*, in which *tend-* is the Aryan root meaning ‘to cut’ seen in its *o*-grade in the Latin *tondeo.* The root occurs in Irish: *ro-s-teind*; see Walde s.v. *tondeo.* For *cy-* becoming *ci-*, cf. dialectal *cinint.* The final *-nn* (from *-nd-*) is required by the rhyme; and *cymyn* is ruled out, as it has *-n*: *cymynu* ‘to cut’.

[2] Probably *rhynn* in *gwaewaur rrinn* is cognate with Irish *rind* ‘point’ of a spear, etc., and the verb *rindaim* ‘I stick, thrust’; also Welsh *rhynnaf* ‘I thrust, push’? The expression appears in our text as *Gwaywawr ryn*, 44·10; the initial *r-* stands for *rh-*.

Taliesin's bondage, thus demonstrated by citing as the bard's own words a text in which improbable "emendations" take the place of lucid readings and pervert the plain purport of the passage, is of course treated by the editor as an established fact. Taliesin may have learnt Welsh "in servitude, as the youthful Patrick learnt Irish"!

> Like him too he ran away, 27·6.
>
> I wandered in the earth before I touched literature (p. xxxii).

"I wandered in the earth" is proof positive; it cannot mean anything but "I ran away from bondage"!

> Out of Powys he steps into Llwyvenyð, & sings:
>
> Mine its wild places; mine its cultivated parts . . . 65·13.

The *gwyleð* and *llareð* of the original do not mean "wild places" and "cultivated parts"; but really one cannot discuss all these mistranslations. Taliesin sings—composes a finished poem in a language just picked up as a "(swine)herd"; it is all so delightfully probable.

> In Llwyvenyð he was not only beyond the power of Powys, but once more under his native lord, Ranulf, the earl of Chester, for whom he has a good word to say.
>
> *Ran*ulf did not molest his enemies
> until Urien arrived one day in Aeron. 61·8.

The manuscript does not mention *Ran*ulf, and says the exact opposite about Ulph: "when Ulph came to oppress—*yny doeth vlph yn treis*". The "good word" is the editor's own, who changed *yny* 'where, when' into *ny* 'not'. Then Owein Gwynedd appears on the scene:

> Taliesin felt, as all feel, towards an invading stranger and, it is clear, opposed the power of Gwyneð in song or action (cp. n. 66). But he soon changed his attitude, & wrote a poem to propitiate the new lord of Llwyvenyð. . . . He was received into favour, and never had prince a more loyal bard than Taliesin proved to the lord of the West (p. xxxiii).

Thus Taliesin was a renegade Englishman, a Herr Houston Stewart Chamberlain, whose Kaiser was Owein Gwynedd!

I refrain from comment because it is clear that the imputation is as fatuous as it is odious.

"Such, in outline", writes the editor, "is the life of the bard". But some further details are added, which it would be waste of space to follow point by point. The way in which the poem which relates how Taliesin released Elphin from Maelgwn's prison is treated, p. xxxv, reminds one of the "testimony" of the Chirk Codex. Maelgwn is stated to be the son of Owein Gwynedd, and is identified with Elphin, the latter name being an eponym. "To contend with Maelgwn—*amrysson â Maelgwn*" is rendered "to take the part of Maelgwn"; the name Elphin is suppressed to disguise the absurdity of the identification; and the order of two passages is inverted to suggest that the former is consequent on the latter. But one other point must be noticed because of the light it throws on the editor's mentality. Taliesin falls out with the bards. He wins the chair, and the bards are envious.

> I won the chair, and am the bard of the Hall.
> The bards are highly incensed—loud their anathemas.

The original of this couplet is:

> wyf barð neuað, wyf kyw kadeir:
> digonaf y veirð llafar llesteir, 8·17,

which means, 'I am the bard of the hall, I am the occupant (*civis*) of the chair: I cause the bards to keep silence', literally 'I cause the bards hindrance of speech'.[1] Dr. Evans, not comprehending the meaning, sees in *llesteir* 'hindrance' an imaginary *llysceir* (II, 10), which he understands as "anathemas", and thoughts crowd upon him:

> As it was in the days of Taliesin so it is still: if a man excel in any direction, were it only in industry and single-minded

[1] The incident in the Tale of Taliesin (Lady Guest's *Mab.* iii, 337) of Maelgwn's bards being unable to utter anything but "blerwm" in the presence of Taliesin, seems to be derived from this verse.

> devotion to duty, there is no calumny too foul for envy to whisper by those who wander upon every high hill, and play under every green tree (p. xxxiv).

It is unnecessary to dwell on the confused phraseology (" for envy to whisper by those ") of this effusion, nor am I concerned with its application, and the delicate way in which the slanderers are repaid in kind.[1] I wish only to point out that it bears no relation to anything in the text, but arises from the editor's own ideas read by him into a verse which he did not understand. He proceeds thus:

> Taliesin revenged himself by studying the books of the bards, their round, and all that pertains to them.
>
> They bring forth what is in them:
> What is in them, that is what they are.
> What they are on tour, that is their true character. 20·22.

The original text is subjoined with a translation:

Ystyrywyt yn llyfreu	It is recorded in books
pet wynt pet ffreu,	How many winds, how many streams,
pet ffreu pet wynt,	How many streams, how many winds,
pet anon ar hynt,	How many rivers in their courses,
pet anon yð ynt.	How many rivers there are.

What happened is this: *pet* 'how many', the British cognate (not derivative) of the Latin *quot*, used to this day in Breton, with a singular noun as in our text—a word familiar to every Keltic scholar, was unknown to Dr. Evans; this is seen from his note " 22·1 pet . . . pet . . . pet ? cler(ical) er(ror) for *pob* ", p. 88. Here he took it for *beth*; and *pet avon*, 'how many rivers', he made into *beth a vont*, " what they are ", II, p. 18. The rest follows, but not without the most violent transmogrification of the text, including the interpolation of a whole line composed by the editor himself, and rendered by him " of the bards, their round, and all that pertains to them ", II, p. 17. The evidence which he adduces turns

[1] See Jeremiah, ii, 20; iii, 6.

on the words which he has inserted; he brings forth what is in him, not what is in the text. And what is in him, that is what he is: Taliesin inveighing against the bards is Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans denouncing "the *Eisteδvodic spirit*" (*Bruts*, p. xvi), or unburdening his mind on the subject of "the Welsh Atomist", who "cannot construe a dozen lines of early Welsh poetry, nor write a modern dozen with decency" (II, p. xiv). As the amended text is for the most part the product of the editor's imagination, it is natural that it should breathe his sentiments and gibbet his pet aversions. The Taliesin whom he sees in it and behind it is his own shadow—a distorted shadow one is glad to admit, for Dr. Evans is not, like his Taliesin, a coward and a renegade.

Any detailed examination of the "amended" text and translation, and of the notes, is altogether out of the question here. Mr. Ifor Williams, in his review of Vol. II, started to note the errors in the emendation and rendition of the late and comparatively easy poem "Armes Prydein", and after filling, in small type, more than six of the large pages of *Y Beirniad* (1916, pp. 207-214), had to desist half way through. I can only deal in a general way with Vol. II and the notes, citing a few characteristic mistakes. These have been chosen almost at random; I have not looked for them, but have merely marked them in pencil in my working copy when I have had occasion to refer, for the purposes of the above paragraphs, to these portions of the work. Nothing could induce me to undergo the ordeal of systematically reading through the volume of "amended" text and "translation".

In the first place, Dr. Evans is ignorant of the meaning of a large number of old words which are familiar to Welsh scholars, and most of which were made out long ago. Many of his "emendations", as we have seen, are

due to this; anything not immediately intelligible to himself he has at once altered, without attempting to understand it as it is. He re-writes a whole passage, dragging in the bards and "what they are", instead of trying to discover the meaning of *pet*, which he would have found in Pughe, or in Richards, who says, "Pet, *ad.* How many? in *Taliesin.* So in Arm(oric) . . . Vid. ex. in *Dôs*", or in Dr. Davies: "*Pet, *Quot. apud Tal. vid. Ex. in* Dos". The example is *pet dos* 22·1; so here is our editor's difficulty solved in the 17th century. Whenever an old word has the same form as a modern one, he always takes it for the latter; *llys* 'plant, herb', the old singular of *llysseu*, is mistaken by him for *llys* 'court'; so he changes *plagawt lys* to "*Pryderi lys*", II, p. 62, and asserts, for no other reason than his own ignorance, that *plagawt* is a "bogus form", n. 70·7; *plagawt lys* appears to be the fungus from (*y ar*) which Gwydion formed his magic horses and trappings, W. B. Mab., col. 85. He mistakes *blawt* 'blossom', the old singular of *blodeu*, for *blawt* 'flour', and renders it "pollen", II, p. 37; the two words are not connected, see my *Welsh Grammar*, pp. 76, 77. He mistakes *gŭyδ* 'wild' (= Irish *fīad*, Fick-Stokes, 265) with *gwȳδ* 'trees' (= Irish *fid*, ib. 280), a distinction both of sound and sense known to Richards, and to Dr. Davies (1632); and consequently changes what he supposes to be *gwyδvilet* into *bwystviled*, II, p. 174, because "*gwyδ*-v(il)ed with *coed* is tautological", n. 29·13. He confuses *Madws* 'due time, (it is) time' (known to Richards and Davies), with *mad* 'good', and renders it "It is well", II, p. 9. He confuses *canhwr* '100 men' with the New Testament *canwriad*, and renders it "centurion", II, p. 39. He mistakes *kylchet* 'bedding' (from Latin *culcita*, as shown by Rhys, *Welsh Phil.*, 1879, p. 115) for *cylch* 'circle', and renders it "borders", II,

p. 39. *Llad* 'liquor' (= Cornish *lad*) was not understood by the old lexicographers, but has long been known to modern scholars (e.g., Loth, *Voc. Vieux-Bret.*, 1884, p. 171), and is given by Walde as a derivative of Latin *latex*; our editor renders it "wafer" in II, p. 27, l. 2, and "good" at the bottom of the same page; on p. 149 *llestreu llad* 'drinking vessels' is rendered "goodly vessels"; this is understood as "ships", and the text is "amended" accordingly. *Meinoeth* or *meinyoeth* 'midnight', from Latin *mediā nocte*, was not made out until recently; but the clue to its meaning is to be found in our text. The reference is given in my *Grammar*, p. 93; but Dr. Evans, instead of following it up, merely says "Prof. J. M. J. falls into a strange er(ror) here", n. 68·13, his own idea being that the word in this passage should be "*meingoeth*". The passage which determines the meaning occurs in the poem on the "Plagues of Egypt", and reads (45·6):

> Dec*ret*[1] veinyoeth mwyhaf gwynyeith ar plwyf kynrein,

that is, 'Tenth (plague), at midnight the greatest vengeance on the ruling people', an obvious reference to "About *midnight* will I go out into the midst of Egypt: and all the firstborn in the land of Egypt shall die", Ex. xi, 4-5. Dr. Evans, not knowing that *veinyoeth* makes a perfect *proest* with *gwynyeith*, and that *proest* is used instead of rhyme in these poems, came to the conclusion that a great lacuna existed here, and proceeded to fill it thus (n. 45·7):

> Deg*ved* meini coeth *roed inni gan Egiptiein*
> *Yna mabweith,* mwyhav gwynyeith ar blwyv Cynrein.

Thus *meinyoeth* 'midnight' becomes "*meini coeth*"! *Meini* is as old as the Welsh Bible; but is not used by the early modern, not to speak of medieval, bards. The medieval plural is *mein*. *Meini coeth* 'refined stones' is a good

[1] *ret* omitted in the MS., by the scribe's running on from the *re* of *ret* to the *re* of *veinyoeth* in passing on to a new line.

example of the hopeless bungling of these "emendations": *coeth*, 'refined (by fire)', from Latin *coctus*, is used of metals, not of stones (*mein*). *Roed inni* is slipshod modern Welsh (*roed* for *a roed*) for what would be in the twelfth century *an roδed*. *Egiptiein* is a form invented by the editor himself. *Mabweith* is the missing word, to rhyme with *gwynieith*, and to mean, somehow or other, 'slaughter of sons'! Can anything more helplessly futile be imagined?

The "amended" text bears witness on every page to ignorance of the history of the language: medieval forms, spurious modern forms, dialect and even slang words, jostle each other in the most grotesque confusion. The traditional form *briallu* 25·23 gives place to *briall* II, p. 36, a bogus nineteenth century form. *Eiδot ti*, II, p. 38, is not older than the late fifteenth century; the medieval form is *teu*.[1] *Y Weryδ*, II, p. 6, for "the Ocean" is modern newspaper Welsh. *Hŵë*, II, p. 72, is the South Walian colloquial corruption of *hyweδ*. *Godrev*, II, p. 22, is a spurious modern form coined by the editor himself[2], and is similar to the common mock-literary *hŷv*, which he also uses, n. 25·9; the words are *godre* and *hy*, the former from the root *tregh- (as in Greek τρέχω), the latter from the Keltic *segos, the final lenition of *g* disappearing in Medieval Welsh. The medieval *arogléuaf*, 79·16, still retained as *ogléuaf* in North Wales dialects, is replaced by the modern artificial *aróglav* in the "emendation" in n. 79·14. *Broled*, II, p. 92, substituted for *molet*, is formed by adding the medieval verbal ending *-et* to the

[1] "Meδyant, val y mae *meu, teu, eiδaw*", says the Red Book Grammar, col. 1124. In the late fifteenth and sixteenth century this series of possessive adjectives was re-formed as *eiδof, eiδot, eiδo*; and Dr. Evans uses *eiδot* in an "emendation" of a twelfth century text.

[2] The usual modern false spelling of *godre* is *godrau*.

stem of the modern slangy *brolio* 'to brag', which doubtless comes from the English *brawl*.[1] *Rhonc* is a dialectal borrowing of English *rank* 'utter'; the explanation of "*ronc wleδ* = a 'swag' feast", II. 13·14, is that Pughe gives *rhonc* the meaning "a swag" to correspond with *rhonca*, and Dr. Evans mistook Pughe's "swag" for thieves' slang. *Gwarogaeth*, II, p, 172, is a late corruption of *gwr-ogaeth* 'hom-age'. *Gan nad pwy*, II, p. 24, is a recent senseless corruption of the South Walian *gynnag pwy* for *bynnag pwy*, a curious late inversion of *pwy bynnag* 'whoever', see Silvan Evans's Dictionary s.v. *cynnag*. The correct *ceneu* of the original is replaced in this text by the late *cenaw* (II, pp. 80, 116) fabricated out of the plural *cenawon* (properly *canawon*) in ignorance of Welsh phonetic law, and in defiance of the spoken form, which everywhere represents the standard form *ceneu*.[2] *Athraw* is a similar fabrication from the plural *athrawon*; the medieval singular is invariably *athro*, see references to twenty examples in my *Grammar*, p. 108. But Dr. Evans sees the bogus *athraw* in *Athraw ydygen* 42·6, which he changes to *Athraw yn·Ygen*, and renders "a preceptor in Dygen", II, p. 192, thereby raising difficulties for himself, which need not detain us. What then is the explanation of the *Athraw* of the original text? The answer is simple: in medieval manuscripts proclitics like *a* and *y* are generally joined to the words that follow them; and the phrase in question, divided into its component words, is *A thraw y Dygen* 'and beyond Dygen', without the alteration of a single letter. Any competent

[1] There is a *brolet* in the text lower down, 45·21; this is an adjective compounded of *bro* and *lled*, and doubtless meaning 'of wide dominions'.

[2] Final *-eu* becomes *-e* or *-a* in the dialects; final *-aw* becomes *-o*. The relation between the sg. and pl. in *ceneu*, *canawon* is the same as that in *lleidr*, *lladron*; see my *Gram*, p. 212, Note.

Welsh scholar would read it so; but lest there should remain the faintest shadow of a doubt, it may be stated that the same geographical expression is found in fuller and absolutely explicit form in the poetry of the Red Book: *ac o'r tu draw y Dygen*, Skene, *F.A.B.*, ii, p. 277.

As with words, so with idioms. Old idioms are misunderstood—several examples of this have been dealt with above, see pp. 66, 88, 89; and new-fangled constructions are brought into the text. Thus, in Welsh, absolute clauses are introduced by *a*; as *a mi yn vyw*, W.B. Mab., col. 504; *A mi . . . yn d'aros* D. ap G., 1789, p. 512; or *Paham, a mi yn disgwyl*, Esai. v, 4; but in the last century a fashion arose, under the influence of English, to write[1] *tra* instead, producing a construction which is neither Welsh nor English: *tra mi yn aros*,[2] 'while I waiting'! This muddle-headed neologism we, of course, find in our "amended" text: *Tra mi 'm·Uδugre*, II, p. 144. The preverbal relative *y*, which comes properly after adverbs, as in *pryd y* 'at the time when', is often used by uninstructed writers after conjunctions; and one of the first warnings given to learners of Welsh composition is not to insert it, for example, after *os*; yet in our "amended" text we find *os y dygwyδ*, II, p. 116. The omission of the relatival *a* before a verb with softened initial is unknown in Medieval Welsh, except after *mi*, *ti*, etc.[3]; it probably does not occur in Dafydd ap Gwilym,[4] and is rare in the

[1] I say "write" advisedly, because in the *spoken* language the old idiom with *a* is still exclusively used.

[2] In the hymn-books of the present day this construction is attributed to Williams, Pant-y-celyn, as *Tra seren yn y ne'*. But Williams wrote *Tr'o seren yn y ne'*, see 1811 ed., p. 867, where *tr'o* is a colloquial contraction of *tra fo*. Similarly *tr'w'i*, ib., p. 129, etc., for *tra fwyf i*.

[3] And except before forms of the verb 'to be' in constructions in which *a* never existed, and the lenition is analogical.

[4] Contraction with a vowel occurs: *Delwi wneuthum*, 1789 ed., p. 14, should be *delwi a wneuthum*, etc. (sandhi contraction).

later *cywyddau*; it is absent from the Welsh Bible, and is avoided by all Welsh prose writers of repute before the present generation; it began to become common in the verse written in the free metres in the eighteenth century. Yet this elision occurs over and over again in our "amended" text. Indeed the editor himself refers to the dropping of the relative, assuming as a matter of course that it takes place in the original, and giving as an example *Taliesin gan*, II, p. xii, which he thus supposes to mean 'Taliesin sings'. But no Welsh scholar need be told that *Taliesin gan*, 59·2, means 'the song of Taliesin', just as *Reget uδ*, 67·19, means 'the lord of Rheged'. Again, the syncopated forms *'m*, *'th* of the pronouns usually written *fy*, *dy* occur in Medieval Welsh only after the monosyllables *a*, *na*, *no*, *y*, *o*; the free use of *'m* and *'th* is an artificial innovation—artificial because it corresponds to nothing in the spoken language—resorted to by late writers of verse. We find this misuse of *'m* in the text before us: *a draetho·m tavawd*, II, 36, *ystyriaw·m awen*, 42. What these modernisms and solecisms show is not merely that the "emendations" which contain them are worthless, but that the emendator is unable to distinguish not only between medieval and modern, but between good and bad Welsh.

Errors in the use and formation of verbal inflexions abound in his text and notes. The third sg. pres. subjunctive *él* is taken out of the dependent clause in which it appropriately stands in 63·4, and is treated as if it were indicative, II, 114. The aorists *cant* and *darogant* are rendered as futures, "shall sing and prophesy", II, p. 13; and the false rendering is quoted in the Introduction, p. xxvii. The verbal noun *diffryd* is misspelt *diffrid*, II, 58, and used for the third sg. pres.-fut. indicative, the proper form of which is *differ*. The old third sg. pres.

subjunctive *gwnech* 'may do' is altered to *gwrech*, rendered "he wrecks", II, 4, and to *gwnelher*, II, 80; the former is corrected in n. 37·18,[1] where it is stated that *gwrech* "assumes a possible form *gwrychu*, to heap together": how *gwrychu* can mean "to heap together", how that can mean "to wreck", and how *gwrech* can possibly be a third sg. pres. of a "possible" *gwrychu*, we are not told. The old third sg. pres. subj. *duwch* is "amended" to *duccwy*, II, 46, a mis-spelling of *dyccwy* (cf. *dycco*, W.B. Mab., col. 465); but in n. 28·20 the form *duwch* is recognized, and explained as a "metath(esis) of *duc-hw*"![2] *A Cheneu*, 60·15, is "amended" to *A theirei*, II, 90; the ending *-ei* affects no vowel or diphthong—the correct form is *taerei*, as every pass student knows. The old third sg. pres. indic. *erlynyt* is "amended" to *erlid*, II, 42, which in Medieval Welsh is the verbal noun only: it is not a stem of the verb—*erlidiaf* is a modern re-formation. In the old perfect *cigleu* 'I have heard', *ci-* is the reduplication, and *-gleu* represents the root **kleu-*; in our "amended" text an unheard-of passive form *ciglwyd* appears, II, 22, as if *cigl-* were the stem. Similarly it is suggested that *deryδ* is a derivative of *taro*,[3] 'to strike', n. 69·9; the stem of *taro* in Medieval Welsh is *traw-*, and the form meant would be *trewyδ*. The stem of *difa*, 'to destroy', is *difa-* itself; probably it is formed from *di-* and *ma(g)*, 'place',

[1] *A Welsh Grammar*, 1913, had appeared in the meantime; Strachan in his *Intr.*, 1909, had not discovered the form, see p. 69, Note 2. That Dr. Evans looked up the verb in the *Gram.* is proved by his note 26·18.

[2] For the true explanation, see Strachan, *Intr.*, p. 69, and my *Gram.*, pp. 339, and 113, x.

[3] "Some committed the elementary mistake of . . . . . . and gave 'taraf' as 'the pres. indic. of *taro*'". Central Welsh Board, *General Report of Examiners*, 1917, p. 67. *Teryδ* is the same school-boy error as *taraf*.

cf. *di-le-af*, 'I delete'; the *a* is of course kept throughout, or is affected to *e* before *i*, thus *di-va-wys*, *di-va-awô*, *di-fa-ed*, *di-ve-ïr*, all quoted by Silvan Evans, s.v.; but in his n. 56·9, our editor suggests *difir*, "will be destroyed", as if the stem were *dif-*! Following this childish "howler" is the oracular statement that Sir John Rhys's translation of the poem "may be assigned" "to the realm of twilight and darkness".

To the ordinary reader phonological arguments are apt to be somewhat mysterious; they cannot be more incomprehensible than Dr. Evans's phonological pronouncements are to the phonologist. For example, "It looks as if *Mabin-ogion* were a corrupt form of *Mabon-ogion*. If it were based on *Maban* we should have *Mebin-ogion*", p. xxvii, fn. How *i* can come from either *a* or *o*; how it would affect a preceding *a* in one case and would not in the other; or rather how the editor conceives that such things can be, must remain a mystery. Again, what is known in Welsh philology as "vowel-affection" (Zeuss's "infectio") is a change in a vowel caused by a sound in the syllable that *follows* it; the only known "affection caused by *ō*" is that which is caused by *ō* in a lost ending, as the affection of *a* in *lleidr* from the Latin *latrō*. But the "affection caused by *ō*" in Dr. Evans's index, p. 162, is as follows: "*Moryd* is often spelt *Morud*, the *y* being affected by long *ō*", n. 77·11. The *o* here is *not* long; it is *not* in a lost ending; and it *precedes* the vowel it is supposed to affect. The statement, so far as it reveals its author's understanding of the principles of the subject, is on a level with the schoolboy's "A circle is a round straight line with a hole in the middle". It is the plain fact that Dr. Evans, when he deals with phonetics, does not know the meaning of the terms he uses: *ff* is an "explosive", and so is *th*, n. 63·25. To speak of the

"explosive *ff*" is like speaking of the "planet *Sirius*" or the "metal sulphur". He uses the sign > instead of < throughout, and discovers, or is informed of, the difference between them only just in time to paste in front of the page of "Corrections", a small slip of paper with the following legend: "For > read < wherever it occurs".

The ideas of Welsh metric brought to bear on the construction of the "amended" text are of the crudest. Mr. Williams has shown (*Y Beirniad,* 1916, p. 207) how 30 lines out of 58 in one poem have been altered in order to reduce the whole to a uniform length of nine syllables, although the actual lengths arrange themselves in obvious patterns. He has also pointed out (ib. pp. 203-5) that numerous rhyming words have been changed simply because the emendator was ignorant of the rules of rhyme in the oldest poetry. The rhymes which he failed to see are usual in Irish verse, and follow definite rules: the rhyming syllables end in different consonants, but they must be consonants of the same class, so that the rhyme is not a *mere* assonance; thus -*el* rhymes with -*er* and -*eδ* (voiced spirant finals), but not with -*ec* (explosive final). Of these things Dr. Evans had not dreamt. We have seen above, pp. 103, 117, that he was also ignorant of the fact that *proest* (which Icelandic poets call "half-rhyme") often takes the place of rhyme in these poems; in *proest*, the *vowels* of the answering syllables vary.[1] Finally, his remarks on *cynghanedd* are on a par with his phonetic notes. He has never appreciated or understood this distinctive feature of Welsh poetry; he has no ear for its effects, and therefore has never been able to grasp its principles; the "secret of the bards", as it is sometimes called, is a closed book to him; see, e.g., p. 108 above.

[1] For a detailed account, in Welsh, of *proest* see the *Transactions,* 1908-9, pp. 24-31.

Turn we then, as Dr. Evans would say, to palaeography, which is his subject, and in which no one will deny his proficiency. The Book of Taliesin on the whole gives little occasion for the exercise of his special skill; the manuscript, as he says, "is beautifully written, and one of the easiest to read", p. i. Hence Skene's reproduction was a good working text; its few errors were mostly obvious, such as *u* for *n*, or *c* for *t*. Dr. Evans's text is, of course, free from such errors; and it contains the reading of the fragment at the end of the last page, which Skene says "is nearly illegible, only a few words being distinct", *F.A.B.*, ii, 217. The reading, even where marked uncertain, seems correct; and an examination of the photographic facsimile cannot but give the impression that the decipherment of the lines was a great feat. It was, of course, accomplished many years ago, though probably thirty years after Skene abandoned the attempt as hopeless.

Dr. Evans tells us that "the style of the writing is that of about 1275—it certainly appears to be earlier than a MS. dated 1282. But if written by an elderly man, it might be 25 years later", p. xliii, fn. And again, "Other manuscripts written apparently by the same hand are the 'Gwentian Code' at the British Museum, and Geoffrey's Brut at Mostyn Hall", p. 81. The information contained in these excerpts is valuable as far as it goes; and the opinions expressed will be received with deference. But by a peculiar perversity Dr. Evans hardly deigns to discuss matters on which he is entitled to speak: the first statement is huddled into a footnote at the end of the Introduction; the second occurs in a note in small type at the end of the Text. The "MS. dated 1282" is not even named; the "manuscripts written apparently by the same hand" are named vaguely with no references, and

one has to hunt up the volumes of the *Report* to know precisely what manuscripts are meant (Harl. 4353 and Mostyn 117). In the *Report* (vol. i, p. 300) these are definitely said to be "in the same hand", here they are "apparently by the same hand". No facsimiles are given; no grounds for the original opinion, or for the later modification, are stated: the matter is simply not discussed. In the larger type of the Introduction we are told that "the Book of Taliesin belongs to the Margam school of writing; its orthography is 'South-Walian', while its '*h*yny' for 'yny' stamps the scribe as a native of Glamorgan . . . Palaeography thus teaches that our manuscript was written at Margam, by a native of the district", p. xliii. Palaeography may or may not teach it, but the reason given is not palaeographical but linguistic, and is worthless. Dr. Evans may have good palaeographical reasons, such as the style or certain characteristics of the hand, for supposing the writing to belong to "the Margam school"; if he has, he has not disclosed them. If the Brit. Mus. Gwentian Code is in the same hand—he seems less sure of this than formerly—it furnishes a presumption that the manuscript was written in Glamorgan, though not necessarily at Margam. But this is not the consideration urged; the argument used is that "'*h*yny' for 'yny' stamps the scribe as a native of Glamorgan", which proves nothing but the editor's ignorance of the fact that *hyny* is the old form of this word, found, for example, in Llyfr yr Ancr and the W.B. Mab., *Welsh Gram.*, p. 446. The argument that *e* for *y* points to a Powysian archetype betrays similar ignorance (see *Gram.*, p. 16). The date is determined by a confused orthographical argument, noticed below, which is based on an actually non-existent form *trevbret*, while palaeographical arguments are, as above stated, relegated

to a footnote. Instead of a discussion of palaeographical questions we have general remarks on the "Science of Diplomatics", and a handsome tribute to its master—by the same.

The manuscript is one of the easiest to read. "Alas," says Dr. Evans, "it is also one of the most difficult to understand, because it is among the least faithful of transcripts," p. i. He makes the statement apparently without a thought of how it reflects on his theory. Taliesin, he thinks, died about 1176; our manuscript was written about 1275. Thus all the mutilations so eloquently described by the editor, p. xxxvi,—"hundreds of lines . . . . marred in transcription; syllables, words, clauses, sentences, lines, . . . dropped," etc., etc.,—must have taken place in the work of the "chief of bards" within a short century of his death, while the works of less famous poets, who indisputably lived in the twelfth century, such as Gwalchmai and Cynddelw, are in an excellent state of preservation. The supposition has only to be stated to show how incompatible it is with common sense. "But alas! what text has suffered like the Taliesin text at the hand of scribes," asks Dr. Evans, p. xxxvi. I answer at once, "the Aneirin text"; and for the same reason. But what I wish to point out here is the editor's sublime unconsciousness of the fact that the question so innocently put by him knocks his theory on the head.

The detection of scribal errors depends upon meaning and construction; errors are only suspected when the text as it stands is unintelligible or in some other way unsatisfactory. Even in such a case there need be no error; the unintelligibility of the text may be due to our imperfect knowledge of its language, or only to the ignorance of the particular reader. This never occurs to Dr.

Evans; what is unintelligible to *him* is corrupt, and we have seen that a large number of his "scribal errors" have no other basis than his own lack of acquaintance with the commonplaces of Welsh scholarship. A considerable proportion of the remainder of his "errors" are assumed because the text as it stands does not square with his theory: *Owein ap Urien* is "unintelligible", see above, p. 87; *Cian* (the sixth century bard) is an "error" for *ciawr*, n. 19·2; *Godoδin* is an "error" for *gorδin*, n. 61·11; *a Cheneu vab Coel* is an "error" for *a theirei i vab Hoel*, II, 90 (*teirei!* and *Hoel*, monosyllabic, for *Howel* in the twelfth century!); elsewhere, *Ceneu* is an "error" for the recent and spurious *cenaw*, II, 116; *a Chludwys* 'and the Clydemen' is an "error" for *achludyn*, II, 160; *Iwerδon* is an "error" for *rhy-δoethon*, ib.; *o Lydaw* is an "error" for *oludawg*, II, 168; *wyr Bryneich* 'men of Bernicia' is an "error" for *i Arδunwent*, II, 122; *kechmyn Danet* is an "error" for *Normanieid*, II, 162; *Argoet Llwyfein*, "Locality and metre both wrong . . . . Read . . . *cynrein*", n. 60·7; etc., etc. Many passages of the text are, of course, unintelligible to others as well as to Dr. Evans; the solutions he offers of these difficulties are, to say the least, remarkable. Thus *Sychediedi euroi*, 74·21: "*syc*(h)edi-edi, metath. for *ys*edic eiδi. *euroi* spelt backwards=ioruc, a South Walian gloss on *eiδi*=ivy", p. 124. The form *eiδi* seems to have been evolved in the editor's brain out of a confusion of the Welsh *eiδew* and the English *ivy*; *ioruc* (the S.W. dial. *iorwg* for *eiδiorwg*) "spelt backwards" by a medieval glossator is a suggestion so desperately crazy that one knows not what to say; but many of the editor's other corrections, though perhaps less ludicrous, are inherently not less absurd. The "List of Scribal Errors," pp. 130-144, is a classification of these "emendations", which are arranged in the alphabetical

order of the letters supposed to be misreadings. The first in the list is *aryher*, 14·6, amended to *o ry·her* rendered "from insubordination", II, 163, which is obviously wide of the mark. The second is the "emendation" of the correct medieval *mawr* A *eir* 14·11 into the modern *mawr o eir*; the editor in all his copying, has never noticed that the medieval preposition in such phrases is *a* (see R. B. Mab, 7·4·28, etc. *Gram.*, p. 401, ll. 4-6). The third is the "emendation" of *eur ac aryant*, 17·19, 'gold and silver' into *cur a gorian*, which is not Welsh, *gorian* being a Pughean perversion of *goriein*, the standard form from *gawr*, with the same ending as *llefein*, *wylofein*, *germein*, etc.; this change is suggested because the editor failed to understand a fairly easy sentence (see *Beirnaid* 1916, p. 214). And so on. There are, of course, numerous errors of one kind and another in the text; and this list contains good corrections of some of them: about the middle of the first column, for example, *draganawl*, 68·25, is obviously an error for *dragonawl*, which is given as the correction, though the error is more likely to be due to the anticipation of the following *a* than to mistaking *o* for *a* as the classification implies. But these form only a small proportion of the whole; a large number of the "errors" are imaginary, and the bulk of the solutions chimerical. Some knowledge of palaeography is no doubt essential for the emendation of such a text as this—knowledge, for example, of the fact that *u* and *n* are liable to be confused; that *m* may be mistaken for *in*, *ni*, *iu* or *ui*; that *c*, *t*, *r* are frequently confounded—but the fundamental requisite is an accurate knowledge of the language, and this, as we have abundantly seen, Dr. Evans is very far from possessing. He uses the possible palaeographical permutations of letters to justify emendations which can easily be proved, on grammatical and

metrical grounds, to be absurd. But a large number of his emendations have not even this justification, and are therefore not included in the list; and one sometimes wonders why he thought all this juggling with letters necessary when he can at one stroke "correct" *Owein ap Vryen* into *Owein rhy·wyssid*, or *wyr Bryneich* into *i Arδunwent*, and can even introduce into his text whole lines written in a blundering travesty of Medieval Welsh, and representing nothing in the manuscript.

The most interesting, and perhaps the most important, palaeographical question connected with the Book of Taliesin is whether it contains any evidence of transcription, direct or indirect, from a copy in "Hiberno-Saxon", or Insular, script. Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans's theory is based on the supposition that nothing in the book is older than the twelfth century, and Insular script gave place to Continental about the end of the eleventh (*Y Cymmrodor*, ix, 146); if, therefore, the manuscript bears witness to a prototype in the older character, the foundation of his theory is swept away. The possibility of such a thing does not seem to have suggested itself to him; in his own domain of palaeography, as in other matters, he is blind to everything which tells against the theory. It becomes necessary, then, to examine the evidence in the text for transcription from Insular script.

The question is not an exclusively palaeographical one, for all the Welsh written in Insular script appears in Old Welsh orthography (see above, p. 6), which is found in the later Continental script only when the scribe is copying literally or mechanically from an older document. The old hand and the old spelling go together; both belong to the earlier period, and the evidence of the one corroborates that of the other. In Old Welsh orthography a mutated consonant is represented by its radical; the

mutation had taken place, but the spelling survived from the time when the mutated sound could still be regarded as a soft or loose pronunciation of the radical. The sound *v* (now written *f*) was written *m* or *b* according as it came from the one or the other—this could be distinguished by the sound being nasal in the former case; thus the modern *nifer* was spelt *nimer*, and *tref* was spelt *treb*. In Medieval Welsh the sound *v* was usually written *u* or *v* medially (these were two forms of *one* letter), and *f* finally; thus the above words were written *niuer* and *tref*. But *f* appears not only at the end of a word, but at the end of any element in a word; thus *trefred* is not written *treuret* but *trefret*, in our text, 51·25, 57·22, 58·26, and the prefix *cyf-* appears as *kyf-* oftener than as *kyu-*; *f* also appears medially sometimes in certain other combinations, such as after *go-*, as in *gofyn*, or before silent *y* as in *dwfyn*, etc. In the first half of the fourteenth century this medial *f* had sometimes an added *u* to show that it meant *v*, and not the hard *f* (English *f*), as *kyfuanneδ*, (*g*)*ofuynny* (Pen. 14, W.B. Mab., p. 286). Now Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans argues, p. xliii, that a "form like 'tre*vb*ret' is not a 'mistake' but evidence of our MS. being written at the very beginning of a transition period. After 1300 it was not an uncommon practice to flank (*b* and) *f* by a *v* or *u* when they had the sound of *v*". Why does he put "(*b* and)" in brackets? Because the statement is *not true* of *b*, which is *not* sounded *v* after 1300, and is *not* "flanked" by *v* to denote such sound. Thus *vb* is taken to indicate the beginning of a period in which no *vb* for *v* is ever used. Furthermore, will it be believed that the *vb*, on which the argument is founded, actually does not exist in our MS.? The form in the MS. is *tref-* | *bret*, p. 45·11-12, the *tref-* coming at the end of l. 11 and the *bret* at the beginning of l. 12. It is,

K 2

despite Dr. Evans's denial, a "mistake". The explanation is as follows. A scribe was peculiarly liable to make a mistake in passing from one line to another; this was known to Dr. Evans in 1887, for in his R.B. Mab. he marked the end of a line by a stroke | where he found (under Rhys's guidance) "any peculiarity in the orthography", p. xvii; in this I followed his example in my *Elucidarium*, 1894, see p. xv. The Old Welsh spelling of the word now under notice would be *trebret*. The scribe began to write his usual *trefret*, and wrote *tref*, which brought him to the end of his line; just before beginning the next line he instinctively looked at his copy again, and, seeing *bret*, transcribed it mechanically. It is more likely that the mistake is his own, coming as it does in the division of *his* lines, than that he was transcribing *line for line* a copy in which it had been previously made. Thus, transcription from Old Welsh is practically certain, as there can be no other source of the *b*; and its position makes it probable that the transcription was direct.

Again, on p. 56·24·25 we find the following couplet:

> ynamwyn gwen ystrat ygwelit
> gofur hag agwyr llawr llubedic.

> 'Defending Gwen Ystrad there were seen
> A low rampart . . . and dejected, tired men.'

What is the *hag* which I have left untranslated? Final *g* can only mean *ng*, and there is no *hang* in Welsh. I need not discuss at length Dr. Evans's attempts at emendation. In his note, p. 109, he confesses that II, 158·16 is a bad shot, and suggests "gofur hag: go·vur*tha*w*r*, *feeble resistance*": a *t* is supplied, and the *g* is assumed to be an error for *wr*! The true explanation is very simple and obvious. In Old Welsh *a* 'and' was almost always written *ha*; and *a gwŷr* 'and men' would be spelt *haguir*. This is what the scribe had before him;

he started copying it mechanically, but when he had written *hag* he realised what it was, and began again, writing it this time correctly in the orthography which he used throughout—*agwyr*. He doubtless intended later to delete the *hag* by under-dotting the letters, but forgot all about it, as he often did, much to the bewilderment of Dr. Evans. That the *hag* is superfluous is also shown by the length of the line, which should be 8 syllables: in the other line, *ystrat* was a monosyllable, *strat*, in Old Welsh. Here then we have unmistakable evidence of transcription from a copy in Old Welsh spelling; but as the scribe might be copying the mistake of a previous copyist there is no proof that the transcription here was direct.

The preposition *wrth* appears as *gurt* or *gurth* in Old Welsh, but in the scribe's orthography it is, of course, *wrth*. In 61·6 he began to write the Old Welsh *g*- of his copy, but left off before drawing the indispensable tag at the top right-hand corner, and put a dot of deletion under the unfinished letter. Dr. Evans in his diplomatic text represents the result in type thus: g̣ỽꝛth; but in his notes he ignores this eloquent slip of the pen. Did he fail to perceive its plain significance? It shows the scribe in the act of checking himself in an error of transliteration which proves that he was transcribing the poem from a copy in Old Welsh orthography.

Sir Edward Anwyl's examples of Old Welsh spelling in the Book of Taliesin, referred to above, p. 25, are the three following, all from one poem, "Trawsganu Kynan Garwyn": *trefbret* for *trefret*, which I have dealt with; *pympwnt* for *pymhwnt* 'fifty',[1] 45·14; and *dymet* for *dyuet*, i.e., *Dyved*, 45·20. There are at least four other examples in the same short poem, which takes up only twenty-one

[1] Dr. Evans does not know this numeral; he guesses it wrongly each time; here it is "*pym pwnt*, five spikes"! II, 92, 93.

lines of the manuscript: *ebrifet*, 45·17, for *efrifet*, modern *afrifed* 'innumerable'; *Mygkynnelw*, 45·24 for *uyg kynnelw*,[1] in modern spelling *fy nghynnelw*,—the Old Welsh form would be *mi cinnelu*, cf. *mi coueidid*, *F.A.B.*, ii, p. 2, so the scribe seems to have discovered the meaning after writing the *M*; *Tegyrned*, 45·26, for *Teyrneδ* 'kings'; *dy gynan*, 46·4, for *y gynan*, modern *i Gynan* 'to Cynan'.[2] Anwyl remarks that his three examples "suggest that the poem was copied from a manuscript in which the spelling was uniformly of an older type". It will be agreed that the evidence, more fully stated, is not merely suggestive but conclusive.

To the medieval, as to the modern, reader the chief cause of stumbling in the old script lay in the similarity of the minuscule forms of *r* and *n*. The second limb of *r*, instead of being a mere tag attached to the top of the first was brought down to the line, or very nearly to the line, at first with a curl outwards at the bottom, but this became an angle quite early, as seen in the following example of northern writing from the Book of Lindisfarne, written about 700, reproduced from the facsimile in *Bibliographica*, iii, p. 271:



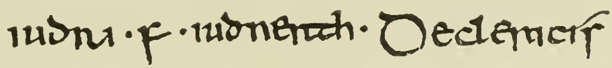
Ostendite mihi denariu*m*

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[1] In his n. 45·24 Dr. Evans takes *Myg* to be the modern *myg*. He has copied tens of thousands of final *-c* for modern *-g*, but that has not availed to impress on his mind the fact that *-c* is the only possible medieval spelling. Medieval *-g* means *-ng* only. The full phrase here is *Myng kynnelw o Gynan*; for the meaning, see above, p. 98 fn.

[2] Other minor indications occur, such as *l* for *ll* twice in *A lafyn gwyarlet*, 45·18; etc.

A survival of an earlier form is seen in *iudri*, side by side with more usual forms in *iudnerth* and *clericis* in the following example taken from the names written about the middle of the ninth century in the margin of p. 218 of the Book of St. Chad, and reproduced from the full-sized photograph in Professor W. M. Lindsay's *Early Welsh Script*, plate ii :



iudri. f. iudnerth. De clericis

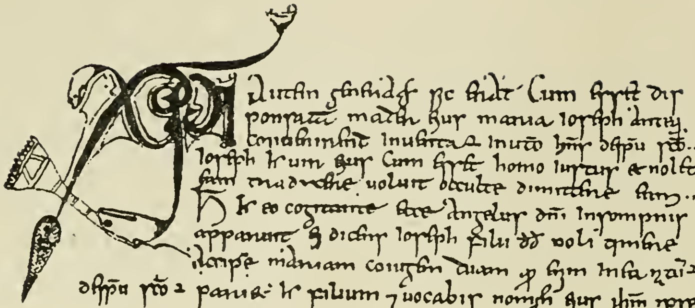
There is a tendency to produce the first limb below the line; this is more pronounced in the *r* of *pater* in the following example from the englynion in a tenth century hand at the top of the first page of the Cambridge Juvencus manuscript, reproduced from a tracing of the words in the photograph which forms Professor Lindsay's plate vii :



dicones pater harimed presen

In later hands this is carried much further, and the first stroke of *r* is brought down as far as that of *p* or minuscule *s*, so that confusion of *r* and *n* is less likely in copying from a late than from an earlier type of Insular script. In some of the freer forms of the earlier writing, of which few samples have survived, *r* and *n* must often have been almost indistinguishable, as may be gathered from the following example of early ninth century Welsh (or, as Professor Lindsay thinks, Cornish[1]) script, given in his plate iv :

[1] The evidence is later and not conclusive; the v form of u shows that it belongs in any case to the Welsh type of script.



XPI autem generatio sic erat Cum esset dis
ponsata mater eius maria ioseph ante*quam*
conuenirent inuenta *est* in ut*ero* h*a*bens de sp*iri*tu s*an*cto.
ioseph *autem* uir eius cum esset homo iustus et nolet
eam tradvcere uoluit occulte dimittere eam.
H*æc autem* eo cogitante ecce angelus do*mi*ni in sompnis
apparuit ei dicens ioseph filii d*avi*d noli timere
accip*ere* mariam coiugem tuam q*uod* enim in ea natu*m est*
de sp*iri*tu s*an*cto *est* pariet *autem* filium *et* uocabis nomen eius ies*um* ipse

Now, in the Continental hands used in the twelfth century and later, *r* and *n* differ just as much as do the *r* and *n* of ordinary modern print; see for example the frontispiece to this volume. Hence confusion of *r* and *n*, especially if it occurs repeatedly, is a sure sign of transcription from a copy in Insular script. In the poem "Trawsganu Cynan Garwyn", in which we have found several traces of Old Welsh spelling, an example of this confusion occurs in the first line: *am arllofeis ket*, 45·10, for *am anllofes ket* 'bestowed on me a gift'; the correct form of the word is seen in *anllofet*, 58·26. Another example is probably *Nac*, 45·20, for *rac*. The error *-eis* (in *arllofeis*) for *-es* is also more likely to happen in copying from the old than from the new script. The *d* written for *a* and then deleted in *kyfdarchet*, 45·22, suggests an original with an occasional tall-backed *a*, like *d*, such as our fourth specimen above. There is thus palaeographical as well as decisive orthographical evidence that

this poem was transcribed from a manuscript of the Old Welsh period.

To come back to the confusion of *r* and *n*, reference has been made above, p. 89, to *Ny rannet*, 68·4, for r*y rannet*, and to Dr. Evans's clumsy correction. We also find *Ny chyrchafi gogleδ*, 65·10, for r*y chyrchaf*; and *ny golychaf*, 64·2, for r*y golychaf*; the former *ny* was corrected to *neu* by Dr. Evans, II, 94, a palaeographically violent emendation; he subsequently changed his mind, and read *ni*, n. 64·10, because his Cheshire Gogleδ seemed a place to which his Taliesin would *not* wish to go. His list of scribal errors contains one good example of *n* for *r*: *mawnut*, 26·1, for *mawrut*, which, however, he takes for *mawr uδ*; but *uδ* is hardly applicable to a sorcerer, and we have here to do with *hut* 'magic'. Possibly also *Gnissynt*, 61·3, for *gryssynt*. But although he notes these two errors of *n* for *r*, and imagines others, his theory affords no explanation of them. They are mere shots, like his emendation of *magidawr*, 52·20, to "*mygrδawn*", p. 106, which he suggests because he failed to see that *Alexander magidawn* was 'Alexander of Macedon'.

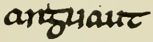
In 40·16 we come upon the scribe in the act of catching himself tripping; the phrase is *y gwin ar cwrwf ar meδ* 'the wine and the beer and the mead'; he wrote the second *ar* as *an*, but discovered his mistake before going on; he put a dot under the first stroke of the *n* to delete it, and added the tag to the second to make this into an *r*, as shown in the margin.



The space between the *n* first written and the *m* is much wider than the usual space between words; that between the *r* and the *m* is normal; thus the mistake was discovered and corrected before the next word was written.

A phrase in which the scribe repeatedly goes wrong is *ar wawd* 'in song'. In Old Welsh spelling this would be

arguaut, for *w* was written *u*, and the initial consonantal *w* of *wawd* would appear in its radical form of *gu*; and *ar*, not meaning 'upon', would be *ar*, not *guar*, cf. *ar i hit*, etc., in Llyfr Llan Daf, 159, etc. In the old script the phrase would appear somewhat as shown in the accompanying block.



In our scribe's orthography it should be written *ar wawt*, the *w* being represented either by w or the equivalent symbol 6. In 19·25 he writes *an g6a6t*, copying the *r* as *n*, and not mutating the *gw*; in 56·16 he writes *an wa6t*, mutating the *gw* this time, though his *an* shows that he did not understand the phrase; in 64·2 he has *an gna6t*, where the first *u* as well as the *r* is mistaken for *n*; the error immediately follows *ny golychaf* for *ry golychaf* mentioned above, the whole expression being properly *ry golychaf ar wawt* 'I praise in song'. But the most instructive case appears in 26·7, where the scribe writes *harδ barδ buδ an gna6t ar wa6t*. Here one of two things happened: *either* the scribe discovered his error and wrote the correction *ar wa6t* intending later to delete the mistaken *an gna6t*, as he clearly intended to do with the *hag* noticed above, p. 133; *or* some previous reader of the old manuscript, being at first puzzled by *arguaut*,



glossed it *ar wawt*, in the manner shown in the margin, and our scribe, as was his wont, incorporated the gloss in his text. The first alternative is perhaps less likely than the second, for if the scribe had discovered his error in 26·7, he would probably not have repeated it in 56·16 and 64·2. But in either case the error proves that each of the poems in which it occurs is ultimately derived from a copy in Insular script.

There is thus ample evidence, though Dr. Evans has been blind to it all, that many of the poems in the Book of Taliesin have been copied from manuscripts of the Old

Welsh period. The evidence is cumulative and self-consistent; it is partly orthographical, partly palaeographical, and the parts dovetail in such a manner as to admit of only one conclusion. This conclusion is further confirmed by the fact that a considerable number of glosses have been incorporated in the text. Dr. Evans recognises this as one of the sources of the manifest corruption of the text as we find it, and imagines numerous glosses where none exist. But he does not see how extremely improbable it is that all the glossing and mixing up of glosses and text, which have undoubtedly taken place, can have come about in a work which was quite modern, its author being barely a century dead at the date of the manuscript.

When we examine Dr. Evans's list of Glosses, p. 144, we find that hardly any of them is in the least likely to be a gloss. He explains that his abbreviation *g* means "*a gloss on* or *for*". By a "gloss for" we are to understand that the word so described might have been a gloss on a word which is not in the manuscript, but *might have been* in the scribe's copy! Most of the "glosses" in the list are "glosses for"; thus *ketwyr* 16·15 and *milwyr* 18·10 are glosses for "*rheinyδ*" which does not exist in the manuscript, or anywhere else, as far as I know, outside Pughe's dictionary. Why is it suggested that *milwyr* and *ketwyr* are "glosses for" this bogus *rheinyδ*? Because the rhyme is *-yδ*, and Dr. Evans did not know that *-yr* formed a good rhyme with *-yδ* at the period when the poem was composed, see above, p. 124. *Mynych* 16·19 is a gloss "for" *aml* because the editor thinks that the line as it stands is too long, which is not the case. Many of the others are suggested for a similar reason: *a oryw* 66·13 is a gloss "for" *wnaeth*, in a poem of lines of irregular length; apart from the fact that the *a* cannot

be omitted, is it possible to imagine that *wnaeth*, one of the commonest words in the language, can have been glossed (that is, *explained*) by *oryw*? It may be true that *gawr* 53·10 should be *bloeδ*, for the latter rhymes (so does, or did, *gwoeδ*, now *gwaeδ*, a preferable emendation); but even if it is, it is most unlikely that *gawr* was a gloss on the common word *bloeδ*, and that the gloss was written by the copyist *instead of* the word in the text; a much more probable explanation in such a case would be that the copyist attempted to improve the original by substituting a more effective word. "Gloss for" is in every case an extremely improbable hypothesis; and thus the bulk of Dr. Evans's list is worthless. In one or two cases where the gloss is "on" a word in the text, as in *lliw*, 43·19, gloss on *ehoec*, the suggestion is not unreasonable. But he has seen none of the obvious cases. For example, there are three in the first part of "Yspeil Taliessin", p. 62. The second line of the poem ends with the words *a wellwyf yn kerth* (read *welhwyf*) 'what I see for certain'; this is followed by *wir* 'true', which stands disconnectedly between the verse and the next; it is quite clearly a gloss on *certh* (from Latin *certus*); it is mutated because the *yn* is implied before it—*yn wir*. As *certh* had lost the primary meaning in which it is used in the poem, it is just the word which we should expect to be glossed. Dr. Evans does not understand it, and so changes it to *gydnerth*, II, p. 112. The gloss *wir* he takes to be the modern exclamation *Gwir*! 'True!' which he puts at the beginning of the next line. The second example occurs in the line

> Gwerth vy nat mawr vyð y radeu.
> 'In recognition of my song great are his gifts.'

In the text *y vuδ* 'his bounty' occurs immediately before *y radeu* 'his gifts', and is clearly a gloss on it, for *rhad*

had already come to mean 'grace', and was used in its primary meaning only in the stereotyped phrase *yn rhad* 'gratis'. Dr. Evans does not know the word *nat* (*nâd*) 'song', although it still survives in *marw-nad* 'death-song'; he "amends" *Gwerth vy nat* to "*Gwyrth vy nuδ*" "A marvel is my lord", although *gwerth vy gwennwawt* 'in virtue of my minstrelsy' occurs in the most famous stanza of the Gododin (B.A., 6·22); he drops the copula *vyδ* and renders the rest of the line "great to us the benefit of his gifts", admitting the gloss into the line. The third example is in the next line

pen maon am de[1] preiδ lydan.
'The chief of warriors awards (?) me a great herd.'

Following the obsolete *maon* is the explanatory *milwyr* 'warriors', a most obvious gloss. It would be waste of space to discuss Dr. Evans's wild "emendations"; of course, he did not see the gloss. It is, however, only right to say that he has suspected *one* gloss in p. 3 in a passage where there are many. In his note on 3·14 he says "Dñi=Domini has no app. place here?". In his list of Glosses, p. 144, he gives *dwvyn domini*, 3·14, as a gloss. The passage is as follows:

Ri rex gl'e am gogyfarch yn
gelvyδ. Aweleisti dñs fortis. darogan dwfyn dñi
buδyant uffern. hic nemo in por .pgenie. Ef di-
llygwys ythwryf dñs virtutū. kaethnawt kyn-
nullwys estis iste est.

Dr. Evans reads in the third line "inper .pgenio". The page had served as outer cover for the manuscript for a long time before it was bound, and considering its state and the forms of the doubtful letters here, it is strange that Dr. Evans did not adopt the reading of the Red Book (*F.A.B.*, ii, 304) whose scribe copied the lines five hundred years before him, when the page was clean, and

[1] Cf. *am dyro am de*, 41·20.

the first leaf had not been torn off.[1] Dr. Evans believes that *dwfyn dñi* is a gloss; *dñi (domini)* certainly is, but *dwfyn* can only be an error for *dofyð* 'of the Lord' on which *domini* is a self-evident gloss. In fact all the Latin words in the passage are glosses. The Welsh words arrange themselves into four very regular lines of eight syllables, rhyming in couplets; thus:

Ri am gogyfarch yn gelvyð
A weleist[2] darogan d*o*fyδ
Buðyant uffern Ef dilly*n*gwys
Y thwr(y)f[3] kaethnawt *Ef* kynnullwys.

'The King asketh me in skilful wise,
Hast thou seen the prophecy of the Lord?
Hell's prey He hath set free,
Its captive host He hath gathered together'.[4]

That is clearly the original text. A more obvious case of interpolating glosses it would be difficult to conceive. Analysis of the scribe's medley seems to show that in his copy the division of the lines and the relative positions of the glosses were approximately as follows (omitting marks of contraction):—

rex gle
Ri am
dns fortis
gogyfarch yn gelvyð aweleist
dni hc. nemo
darogan dofyð buðyant uffern din. pot.
dns virtutu pgenie[s]
Ef dillygwys ythwryf kaethnawt
est is. iste est
(Ef) kynnullwys

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[1] The letters are not marked doubtful in the reproduction, though they are obviously not certain; and there is no note discussing the reading, and no reference to the reading of the Red Book. In the midst of the grammatical and historical inanities of the notes we look in vain for the palaeographical notes we had a right to expect.

[2] The affixed pronouns *-i*, *-ti*, etc., are generally scribal insertions, not counting in the metre.

[3] The *y* in *twryf* is non-syllabic, or silent.

[4] Cf. "Christus infernum despoliavit, et . . . raptos inde in paradiso collocavit".—*Elucidarium*, 1894, p. 187.

As *ri* 'king' here denotes the Deity, it was glossed *rex gloriae*; as the glossator (unlike our editor) knew the twenty-fourth psalm[1] by heart in Latin, he added, below the line, *dominus fortis*, and similarly, having explained *dofyδ* as *domini*, added *dominus virtutum* below the line; *est is, iste est*, also an echo of the psalm, may be intended to denote that the subject of *kynnullwys* is also He. The gloss *progenies* explains the rare word *nawt*, which Mr. Ifor Williams has shown (without reference to this example) to mean 'race, nation', etc., *Y Beirniad*, 1916, pp. 275-6. There was no room between the lines for a gloss on *twryf*, so it was inserted in abbreviated form in the margin; it was probably a reference to the biblical mention of this "turba magna" who had come out of the great tribulation (Rev. vii, 9, 14), and the reading may have been *h(an)c*(?)*nemo din*(*umerare*) *pot*(*erat*).[2] Whatever the exact form of the original may have been, it was clearly an enigma to our scribe, who copied it mechanically and not quite correctly.[3] The restoration of the phrase is of less importance than the conclusion that it, like all the other Latin phrases in the passage, forms no part of the original text, and of this there can be no doubt. The suggested reconstruction of the scribe's copy seems to provide a

[1] Quis est iste rex gloriæ? Dominus fortis et potens . . . . . Quis est iste rex gloriæ? Dominus virtutum, ipse est rex gloriæ.—Ps. xxiv, 8, 10.

[2] Post haec vidi turbam magnam, quam dinumerare nemo poterat. . . . Hi sunt qui venerunt de tribulatione magna.—Rev. vii, 9, 14; Cf. "Vinctos vocat qui erant in poenis . . . quos omnes absolvit, et in gloriam duxit rex gloriæ".—*Elucid.*, p. 214.

[3] His *por* for *pot* suggests that the glosses were in Continental script in which *r* and *t* are easily confused. The *d* of *din.* may have been blotched, like the inserted *o* of *Eobba* in our frontispiece, or otherwise made illegible. It is common in glosses to write only the first few letters of a word, whether the abbreviation is a recognised contraction or not.

natural explanation of the curious positions in which we find the glosses in our text,[1] as the reader may see by comparing the two; but the fact that they are glosses does not depend upon the reconstruction, for it is proved by the metre, and by the origin and application of the phrases themselves. I have dealt with the lines somewhat fully because they supply the clearest proof of the scribe's persistent habit of introducing glosses into the text. Dr. Evans has caught none of the allusions; his treatment of the passage (II, 70, 71) is a truly pitiable performance which, to use his own words, "reduces one to a melancholy, thoughtful silence".

To summarise the conclusions to be drawn from the orthographical and palaeographical evidence, we may state that it establishes the fact that many of the poems are derived from old copies probably of the ninth century. Some of the errors are explicable only under the supposition that the scribe was transcribing directly from such an early copy; even where the evidence is not decisive on this point, as in the case of *hag agwyr* 56·25, another error in the same poem, *an wawt* 56·15, indicates direct copying of that poem. There do not appear to be any traces of twelfth century spelling in these poems, and the probability is that the scribe copied them himself from manuscripts of the early period. He was well acquainted with the Welsh of his own day, and used a consistent contemporary orthography into which he transliterated what he copied. But much of what he copied was unintelligible to him, and he had no ear for metre or rhythm; consequently, he transcribed mechanically and incorrectly at times, and, fancying that glosses were meant

[1] Nash, who failed even to see that *gle* was *gloriæ*, calls the poem a "remarkable farrago" (*Tal.*, p. 71), which is much easier than analysing it, and making out the sense.

to supply omissions, he interlarded the original verses with disconnected words and bits of prose.

I have now dealt in some detail with the evidence, and with the use made of it by Dr. Evans to bolster up his theory; but some general questions relative to his work remain to be considered. He tells us (II, p. vi) that when he copied the Book of Taliesin he "found the meaning of a multitude of passages as clear as daylight" (fond delusion!) "To account for the obscurity of the other parts I conceived the theory that the 'sixth century' work of Taliesin had been vamped in the twelfth"—*he*, Dr. Evans, *conceived* Matthew Arnold's theory, expressly set forth and defended in his *Celtic Literature*.[1] "I elaborated my theory on 609 folios of foolscap"—*his* theory! I have to say that this is news to me; but 609 is precise. "After a week or two I set to the work of testing my thesis at every point,"—what had he been doing when he wrote the 609 folios? What does "elaborating" a theory mean if it does not include testing it at every point?—"and by degrees demolished my own superstructure to the last line". This is very unlike anything we see him do in the present work; whenever he has to pull down, which is pretty often, he sets up something else in a frantic attempt to prop up the ramshackle structure. "To my credit be it recorded the 609

[1] "To the sixth century the universal Welsh tradition attaches the great group of British poets, Taliesin and his fellows. In the twelfth century there began for Wales . . . another burst of poetry. . . . Mr. Nash wants to make it the real author of the whole poetry, of the sixth century as well as its own. No doubt one cannot produce the texts of the poetry of the sixth century; no doubt we have this only as the twelfth and succeeding centuries wrote it down; no doubt they mixed and changed it a great deal in writing it down. But since a continuous stream", etc. See the rest of the quotation, and ref., above, p. 36-7. The theory was foreshadowed by Nash; see above, p. 21.

folios of foolscap, with all their prettily turned passages, were consigned to the flames, leaving me sadder, but no whit wiser." No whit wiser, after so successfully disposing of the tradition! This is said (p. vii) to have taken place about the time when Professor Zimmer visited Tremvan, that is, about 1900. Yet in 1906, Dr. Evans in his *Black Book* speaks of Taliesin being associated with the court of Maelgwn, p. 161, and states that the sixteenth century Hanes Taliesin, which tells of "Taliesin contending with the bards in the court of Maelgwn Gwyneð", "is confirmed by our twelfth century manuscript", p. xvi. In those years he justly prided himself on having no theory. In 1909, he wrote in a footnote to p. xxiii of his *White Book* :—

> Nothing is more dangerous to inquiry than an attempt to bring discoveries into conformity with some system or theory. It leads to undue emphasis being laid on what supports, and undue neglect of what saps such theory or system.

It is to be regretted that he has not clung to this opinion. But one must have some sort of working hypothesis, and I do not wish to suggest that he may not have accepted Matthew Arnold's idea for such a purpose. But the romantic account of the holocaust of folios is intended to convey the impression that he had examined the traditional view "at every point", and completely demolished it before conceiving his present theory. How thoroughly he had assimilated the known facts of sixth century history may be gathered from the fact that in the *Black Book*, 1906, p. ix, he speaks of Maelgwn, who died in 547, as being present in 573 at the battle of Arderyð. But what we are concerned with now is that of the demolition of which he tells us there is no sign in the present work. The testimony of the Nennian memorandum is met by assertions, and the issue evaded; the other evidence of

Taliesin's date is wholly ignored; see above, pp. 42, 48, 50. The one attempt to prove an anachronism under the traditional view relates to Cynan Garwyn, and is based in part on a statement made in Professor Lloyd's *History*, which appeared in 1911; see above, p. 93. The new geography would, of course, have amounted to demolition of the tradition in the eyes of its discoverer; but this had not yet been thought of—in the *Black Book*, 1906, p. x, *Prydyn* is still "North Scotland". Dr. Evans does not deny that the historical Urien lived in the sixth century; but where does he "demolish" the idea that he is the Urien of the poems? Urien, he says, "fought Ida's successors, and was pre-eminent among his compeers as a military leader. So was Owein Gwyneð among Kymric princes: hence his *nom de guerre* of Urien", p. xv. Instead of the overthrow of Urien we have the feeble plea that Owein Gwyneð has a similar claim. What has become of the line by line demolition of 1900 or thereabouts? Again Urien's opponent Vlph is held by Dr. Evans to be Ranulf, Earl of Chester. If he could prove that the name did not exist in the sixth century, or that no person of the name could possibly be an opponent of the real Urien, it would be a case of demolition; but Frithwald, son of Ida, is also called Frithwulf (Oman, op. cit., 242), and no such demolition is possible. The fact is, Dr. Evans's theory is not the result of any detailed examination and demolition of Matthew Arnold's theory, but represents his attempt to find a solution of the problem presented by the reluctance which he knew to be felt by scholars like Rhys and Anwyl to accept a sixth century origin of any of the poems. He imbibed the scepticism that was in the air, and it became an intuition, an instinctive conviction within him. This is the foundation of his theory, and the source of his confidence in it. He writes—

> Even if it be proved that I have made a mistake in every line the TIME of COMPOSITION, the CHIEF ACTORS, and the GEOGRAPHY will remain unaffected (II, p. xiii).

Can a structure stand if the foundations be destroyed? No; but it would be a mistake to suppose that Dr. Evans's theory is *founded* on his readings of the text. These may be "proved" to be all wrong, but the theory "will remain unaffected". They support it, no doubt; but it is not founded on them, or on any facts; the ACTORS and the GEOGRAPHY rest securely on the TIME, and this has its foundation in an inner conviction which nothing can shake. It gives him such strength that he feels he could wipe the floor with all his "precursors":—

> Unregenerate man might delight in making our high priests bite the dust. It would be easy writing, and entertaining reading (p. xvi).

Of which "easy writing" we have had an example in the passage about Cynan Garwyn and the "history of this sort". It is not exactly "entertaining"; or, if it is, it is not at the expense of the "high priests".

It may have occurred to the reader long before this to ask whether, if Dr. Evans's work is as bad as I make it out to be, it was worth while devoting all this space to criticism of it. I answer in the affirmative for two reasons. The first is the reason I gave at the outset: "because in the process some constructive work can perhaps be done", p. 38. It will be agreed that something positive has been attained; I put it forward as tentative; I claim no finality for it—in the present state of our knowledge of the subject finality is far from being in sight. But criticism of false theories is necessary, and is a method of discussion that has its advantages; it is an effective way of presenting saner views, and it often helps the writer to form clearer ideas, because wrong-headed notions often suggest points of view which would

not have occurred to him in a detached study of the subject. Dr. Evans knows this from experience: "I have never received an inspired answer to a 'wise' question; but the imprudent sort is apt to find a hot response", p. vi[c]. He fully accepts the position: "Better then a 'howler' that may herald the light than all the respectability of empty silence. I am content to become the whipping-boy of light & truth", ib.

The other reason is that criticism of this book to be of real use had to be fairly full and systematic. It is often easy to pick out a large number of incidental errors and slips in a work which is sound on the whole; my task was to show not how many mistakes the book contains—this is impossible, for their number is legion—but that the whole work (excepting the mechanical and diplomatic reproductions) is one huge mistake. Few would believe without conclusive proof that an editor of Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans's reputation can be so utterly incompetent to deal with the questions which he sets himself to discuss in this book as he in fact proves himself to be. Dr. Evans is an honorary Doctor of Letters of two Universities; but the distinction was conferred upon him for reproducing texts, not for interpreting them. He had done supremely well what had previously been done only imperfectly. He had for the first time supplied Welsh scholars with reliable texts to work upon. He had already published his reproductions of the Mabinogion and Bruts from the Red Book of Hergest, his facsimile of the Black Book of Carmarthen, and his superb edition of the Book of Llan Daf. In the latter he wisely entrusted the philological work to Sir John Rhys; but the laborious and valuable topographical work is his own; and his recovery of the original reading of the priceless Breint Teilaw, which a late medieval vandal has mutilated with knife and pen, is a service to Welsh learn-

ing greater than many for which honorary degrees have been conferred. Of late years he has manifested a growing disposition to pose as an authority on the language and subject-matter of his texts. He is aware that his knowledge is somewhat hazy, and that he may fall into many errors; and he is shrewd enough to attempt to forestall criticism:—

> A critic may dispute my rendering, but it does not follow that he is right because he differs from me, or cannot in 7 minutes see what it has taken me 7 years to 'grip' (II, p. xiii).

It will be "the usual difference of opinion between experts". This suggestion seems to me to render it necessary to state the truth, which is that Dr. Evans has not mastered some of the elements of Welsh grammar, and has less of the scholar's instinct than almost any of the Eisteðfodic bards whom he scoffs at in his footnotes. He has tried to persuade scholars to cooperate with him in the preparation of his critical editions. He proposed to "a Welsh scholar of repute" that they "should jointly attempt to amend and translate the text of Taliesin". He was advised "to attempt no such thing—he certainly would not cooperate; 'in short I funk it' were his parting words", II, p. vii. The refusal is intelligible, though perhaps not to Dr. Evans. He has rejected the advice of his friends, and apparently interprets their good intentions as "envy". This is the reason for the bitterness with which he speaks of his fellow-workers in the field of Welsh studies.[1] They are jeered at, and accused of taking

[1] For myself, I am specially abused only once, in the screaming footnote on p. xlii. I pointed out in my *Gram.* p. 10, that his statement that the writing in Pen. 54, pp. 359 ff., is in "bardic" characters is wrong, and that the writing "is the hand of an illiterate person". A facsimile has now been published in *Y Cymmrodor* xxvi. pp. 92, 113; and Prebendary Clark-Maxwell came independently to precisely the same conclusion ("probably by an illiterate carver") regarding the similar lettering of the Llanfair-Waterdine inscription, p. 90. Abuse is no answer to a definite conviction of error.

"their ease in the Halls of learning", p. i. The references to the late Sir John Rhys, in particular, are deplorable; and I have no doubt Dr. Evans himself regrets them now.

Finally, I will only say that his friends were wiser than himself, and it is a pity that he did not follow their advice. It offends my sense of the fitness of things to see *any* purely ephemeral matter bound up with perfect reproductions which are for all time; but that all this trash should be printed in the best ink on the finest paper—including 125 copies on Japanese vellum, and of the concentrated nonsense of the smaller volume four copies on vellum itself—to share the permanence of the text and facsimile, is sad indeed. But posterity will look kindly on the editor's follies, and will honour his memory for the good work he has done.

Our investigation has, I believe, established the following conclusions:—

The existence in the sixth century of a bard of the name of Taliesin is a historical fact as well authenticated as most facts of British history in that century.

The Book of Taliesin is a collection of poems purporting to be his work. The date of the manuscript is the latter part of the thirteenth century; but many of the pieces show unmistakable traces of having been copied from manuscripts of the ninth century.

Several of the poems are quite obviously of later date than the sixth century; but there are others which, without obvious anachronisms, deal with events of that century, and with persons with whom Taliesin is associated by tradition. *The question is whether these can in any sense represent his work.*

Nash, though he would not venture to decide that these poems " were not re-written in the twelfth century

from materials originally of the date of the sixth", see above, p. 21, nevertheless believed that they were forgeries of the twelfth century. Zimmer, who was better acquainted with the evidence, believed them to be forgeries of the ninth or tenth century, see above p. 45. The Welsh, he thought, only learned of the *names* of Taliesin and Aneirin from Nennius; but some clever fellows conceived the idea of composing songs such as these poets might have written, and succeeded, in some cases at least, in projecting themselves in imagination into the bard's period and point of view. The admitted forgeries and imitations of the twelfth century give evidence of no such historic sense; are we to suppose that it was highly developed in the ninth? Or is it more likely that the substance of the poems in question was transmitted through the seventh and eighth? Poetry is more easily remembered than prose—rhymes, alliteration and metre aid the memory; and if we are to suppose that the substance was transmitted, we must assume that its original form was substantially that in which we find it recorded.

The question can be settled only by a careful study of the poems. As a result of the philological work done in the last fifty years we are in a much better position to get at the meaning of the poems than Robert Williams and Silvan Evans were in the sixties, and Stephens in the fifties, to say nothing of Nash, who was not a good scholar even for his time. The solution of many of the problems presented by the vocabulary justifies the expectation that many more will be solved in time; but much work remains to be done, and we are perhaps more conscious of the limitations of our knowledge than the scholars of the mid-nineteenth century can have been. I propose, however, to give an amended text and translation of such of the historical poems of the Book of Taliesin as I have been

able in some measure to make out. I consider Dr. Evans's method of altering the text, often without notice, and always without giving any indication of *what* has been altered, to be most misleading and unsatisfactory; it saves *him* trouble at the expense of the reader, who has to be constantly referring to the diplomatic text to verify the emendations. The manuscript reading should always be given, either in footnotes, marginal notes, or in some other manner. In the text of the following poems everything that appears in the manuscript is printed in Roman Type; letters or words that are not to be read are included in round brackets ( ); my own insertions are printed in *Italics*. By omitting the italics and ignoring the brackets the reader gets the manuscript text; by omitting everything contained in brackets, and reading the rest, he has the amended text. But I have not thought it necessary to follow the division of lines in the manuscript, in which the poems are written as prose, or to adhere to its primitive punctuation. I have used capital letters at the beginning of lines and in proper names; I have not distinguished between the two forms of w or r or s; I have used v for u where it has the *v* sound, and vice versa, since v and u were then *one* letter with two sounds; d is printed ð when it is so sounded; g, when it means *ng*, is printed *ng*; silent or excrescent y has been put in brackets, as gwyst(y)l, (y)strat, not because it is not a regular spelling in Medieval Welsh, but because it is not written in Old Welsh, and does not count in the metre; y forming a word by itself, when it had the clear sound which has now become *i* (meaning 'to', 'his', 'her', now misspelt *ei* in the latter senses), is dotted thus, ẏ, to distinguish it from the article and preverb y. The circumflex is used to mark long vowels in cases of possible ambiguity. Mere conjectures are queried, thus (?).

I take first "the Battle of Argoed Llwyfein", p. 60. This is, according to Nash, "the poem, which of the whole series bears the most apparently genuine historical character"; his attempt to prove an anachronism in it has been dealt with above, pp. 20-1; it rests on the supposition that *byδei kymwyawc* 'would be tortured' means '*said* he would be tortured'. It is some excuse for Nash that Stephens had fallen into the error, *Lit. Kym.*, p. 267, following Lewis Morris; but Carnhuanawc, *Hanes*, p. 280, sees as clearly as Sharon Turner (see above, p. 21) that the words form part of Owein's speech. There is no "said" in the text, nor anything else to suggest that the poet regarded Ceneu ap Coel as being present. So far from prejudicing the authenticity of the poem, the words have exactly the opposite effect: Owein invoking the example of his ancestor is a detail which a late forger would hardly have thought of. As to Fflamδwyn 'the flamebearer', Lewis Morris says that he "is supposed to be Ida, king of Northumberland", Stephens, loc. cit. Turner makes the same statement, *Vind.*, p. 247. Carnhuanawc, *Hanes*, p. 276, and Stephens, l.c., accept the identification; but Skene identifies him with Deodric, son of Ida, on the ground that the "Saxon Genealogies" expressly states that Urien "with his sons" fought against Deodric; he even suggests that the chronicler might have had this poem in mind, *F.A.B.*, i, 232. Stephens, after 1853, "had independently come to the same conclusion", *Y Gododin*, 1888, p. 67, fn.

The following tag is added to the poem in the manuscript, as to six of the other poems to Uryen:

Ac yny vallwyf(y) hen,
Ym dyg(y)n a*n*gheu a*n*ghen,
Ny byδif ymδ(y)*i*rwen
Na molwyf Uryen. 60·25.

'And until I perish in old age
In my death's sore need,
I shall not be happy
If I praise not Uryen'.

The other occurrences are 57·11, 58·10, 59·4, 60·5, 62·14, 65·22. The only variations in the text are in the scribe's own affixed pronoun after *vallwyf* (which he omits in 58, 59, and writes *i* in 60·5 and 65), and in the spelling and division of *ymδirwen*. A more defective copy of the lines is seen tacked on to "Anrec Uryen" in the White Book and Red Book; the reading is identical in the two manuscripts: I quote the lines from the White Book as printed in *Y Cymmrodor* vii, p. 126:

Ny dalywyf yn hen
Ym dygyn anghen
ony molwyf .i. vrien: Amen.

The initial *v* of *vallwyf* represents the radical *b* in our scribe's copy, and the W.B. scribe's *d* must be an error for *b* (the two letters being somewhat similar in some old hands), for we can hardly suppose that our scribe repeated the same error seven times. The word seems to come from an obsolete verb *ballu* 'to perish', of which a compound *aballu* (from **ad-ball-*) has survived, e.g., *yn aballu rac newyn* R. B. Bruts 197 'perishing from hunger'; cf. Irish *atbail* 'perishes', *atballat* 'they perish'.

Although the W.B. scribe has *yn hen*, it is possible that at a very early period the adjective might stand in apposition to the subject of the verb without *yn*, as it may be the complement of a verb without it, as in *gan aethant golluδyon* 57·1, 'since they had become weary', see above p. 19, and below p. 161.

ymδirwen. The scribe first copied this *yn dirwen* 57·12; elsewhere *ymδirwen*, with the *ym* clearly joined in 59·5 and 62·15, and apparently separated elsewhere; *-δyr-* only appears on this page, 60 6·26. On the whole 'in my happiness' is less likely than 'happy'; and *ymδirwen* is probably an adjective, like *ymδifad*, but with the intensive *dir* instead of the negative *di*. This implies that the base *gwên* is adjectival; the root may be **uen-* 'to like, to desire', cf. the Sanskrit adjective *vanú-s* 'eager, loving'; this is not the root of *gwên* 'smile', which the Irish *gen* 'laugh' shows to be from **g^uhen-* or **ghuen-*.

Na in the last line is a very questionable use of the word, and makes the line short. We can therefore confidently supply the correct reading from the W.B.: *ony*.

It is quite possible that this tag might have been appended to one or more of the songs to Urien; but it probably has no place at the end of "Gweith Argoet Llwyfein".

GWEITH ARGOET LLWYFEIN.

CANU URYEN.

(E) Bore duw Sadwrn kat vawr a vu
O'r pan ꝺwyre heul hyt pan gynnu.
Dygrysswys Flamꝺwyn yn petwar llu,
Goꝺeu a Reget ẏ ymꝺullu.
Dyv(wy)*u* o Argoet hyt Arvynyꝺ:
Ny cheffynt eiryos hyt yr un dyꝺ.
Atorelwis Flamꝺwyn vawr trebystawt,
"A ꝺoꝺynt y*ng* *n*gwystlon, a ynt parawt?"
Ys attebwys Owein, dwyrein ffossawt,
"Ny(t) ꝺoꝺynt, nyt ydynt, nyt ynt parawt;
A Cheneu vab Coel, byꝺei kymwyawc
Lew, kyn as talei o wyst(y)l nebawt."
Atorelwis Vryen, Uꝺ Yrechwyꝺ,
"O byꝺ ymgyfarvot am gerenhyꝺ,
Dyrchafwn eidoeꝺ oꝺuch mynyꝺ,
Ac amporthwn wyneb oꝺuch emyl,
A dyrchafwn peleid(y)r oꝺuch pen gwŷr,
A chyrchwn Fflamꝺwyn yn ẏ lüyꝺ,
A llaꝺwn ac ef ae gyweithyꝺ."
    A rac (gweith Arg)*C*oet Llwyfein
    Bu llawer celein,
  Ruꝺei vrein rac (ryfel) *gwaet* gwŷr.
A gwerin a grysswys, (g)cân ei(n)*l*iewyꝺ
(Arinaf y) *Amliaws* (?) blwyꝺyn nât wy kynnyꝺ.

THE BATTLE OF ARGOET LLWYFEIN.

SONG OF URYEN.

In the morning of Saturday there was a great battle
From when the sun rose till when it set.
Fflamꝺwyn marched in four hosts
To wage war against Goꝺeu and Rheged.
He came from Argoed to Arfynyꝺ:
They were not suffered to remain for that one day.
Fflamꝺwyn of great bluster exclaimed,
"Would they give hostages, are they ready?"
Him answered Owein, eager for the fray,
"They would not give [hostages], they are not ready;
And Ceneu, son of Coel, would have suffered torture
Stoutly, ere he would cede anyone as hostage."

Uryen, Lord of Yrechwyδ, exclaimed,
"If it must be an encounter for kith and kin,
Let us raise [our] lines above the mountain,
And let us hold up [our] faces above the edge,
And let us raise [our] spears above [his] men's heads,
And let us attack Fflamδwyn in his hosts,
And let us kill both him and his company."
And before Llwyfein Wood
There was many a corpse;
Ravens were red with the blood of men.
And the men who charged—the minstrel shall sing
For many (?) a year the song of their victory.

Notes on "Gweith Argoet Llwyfein".

Many translations of this poem have appeared. Lewis Morris's version, written in 1763, was printed in *Myv.*, i, 54 (^{2}48). Turner gives a version in his *Vind.*, p. 248; he acknowledges his indebtedness to Mr. Owen [Pughe] for assistance in his translations, p. 247 fn. Carnhuanawc gives a Welsh paraphrase in his *Hanes*, p. 280. Later versions are by Stephens, *Lit.*, p. 266, *Y God.*, p. 67; Nash, *Taliesin*, p. 100; Robert Williams, *F.A.B.*, i, 365.

Metre.—The metre is that which is called "cyhydedd naw ban", (*Dosp. Ed.*, p. xxxi); the normal length of the line is nine syllables; but in old examples an extra syllable very often occurs; in this poem there are 13 lines of nine, and 8 of ten syllables, assuming the emendation in ll. 8 and 10 suggested below. At line 20 there is a change in the metre, marking the end of Uryen's speech, and introducing the concluding verses. The metre is 5. 5, 6, the two fives rhyming, and the rhyme carried on in the third syllable of the six (i.e. vr*ein*). This unit of metre is the last part of "clogyrnach" (see prosody books, e.g. *Dosp. Ed.* ib.), and is of the same length as, and in fact is a mere variant of "toddaid byr", the couplet of 10, 6, which forms the first component part of an ordinary englyn. It is certainly one of the very earliest forms of verse in Welsh.

The system of rhymes is obvious. Note that *-awc*, l. 11, rhymes with *-awt*; and *-yl*, l. 16, and *yr*, ll. 17, 22, rhyme with *-yδ*. The last syllable of the "toddaid byr" rhymes with the ends of the verses that precede and follow it.

Title.—See note on l. 20.

Line 1.—*E*, that is, the article *Y*, should certainly be omitted, especially as *Bore* has a dependent genitive. The article does not occur in the piece except in line 6, where it means 'that'. The systematic omission of the article is a good sign of antiquity. It is

of course absolutely wrong to mutate the *B* of *Bore*, as Dr. Evans does, II, 88; in Medieval Welsh no word is mutated at the head of a sentence except proclitics, such as *fy, dy* (radical *my, ty*).

Line 2.—Both verbs are in the present tense; the *-u* of *gynnu* is not an ending, but part of the stem. With *cynnu* 'sets', cf. *Pan dygynnu nos* 21·10 'when night falls', *hid(y)l meu yt gynnu*, F.A.B., ii, 282, 'copiously my (flood of tears) falls'.

Line 5.—The scribe seems to have read the *u* of his copy as *w*, and added the *y*.

Line 6.—If *arhos* 'to stay' is from **ari-soss-* (see my *Gram.*, 343), *eiryos* is a possible variant of it, since *is* or *es* before a vowel might become consonantal *i*, which would affect the *a* to *ei*.

Line 8.—I take *dodynt* to be *doδynt* (cf. *rho-δynt*) or *dodynt* from *dodaf* (possibly for *doδaf*) 'I give' (as well as 'I put'), *Gr.* 332, rather than *doδynt* 'they have come' (for *doethynt*), as I suppose this to be a comparatively late analogical formation, the old perfect being *dy-vuant* (cf. *dyvu* above). The phrase *yg gwystlon*, would be in Old Welsh *in guuistlon*, which can also be transliterated *yn wystlon*; but there is no absolute line of demarcation between the two constructions—we have *ymhell* and *yn bell*, etc. The literal meaning seems to be 'would they give [men] as hostages?' It is, however, more likely that the original phrase was simply *a dodint guuistlon* 'would they give hostages?' which gives a line of normal length.

Line 9.—*dwyrein* 'rising' may be an adjective as well as a noun, e.g., *haul ddwyrain* 'rising sun', D.G. 16, 65; cf. *cywrain* 'skilful'; the phrase seems to be a compound (like *haeδ-wawd* 'deserving of praise' D.G. 413, or *erlid-lanw* 'hunted by the flood' D.G. 195) meaning 'rising for battle'. I have given a free rendering.

Line 10.—It is difficult to believe that this line was not originally the exact counterpart of the challenge, viz.:

Ny ꝺoꝺynt (y*n*g *n*g)wystlon, nyt ynt parawt.

It does not seem possible that *nyt ydynt* can be an old construction; but it is not easy to account for its appearance here. The *nyt* may quite well be a mis-copy of the *ing* of *inguuistlon*, as *t* and *g* are liable to confusion in Insular script; and the rest of the phrase may have been indistinct in the copy.

Line 12.—I take *lew* to be a mutation of *glew* not of *llew*.

Line 14.—*am gerenhyδ*; query *a gerenhyδ* 'O kinsmen', or *mi cer* . . 'my kinsmen'.

Line 15.—There seems to be no foundation for the supposition that *eidoeδ* means 'banners'. It represents a British stem **ati-*, which may well be from the root **petē-*, like Welsh *edeu* 'thread',

English *fathom*, German *Faden* 'thread, string', Gothic *fatha* 'hedge'. The singular might be *eidyn*, and *Caer Eidyn* at the end of the Northern Wall, see above p. 81, may be 'the fort of the line, hedge, or wall'.

Line 20.—*gweith Ar-* seems to be a gloss or scribal insertion from the title. I have therefore read *A rac Coet Llwyfein* 'and before Llwyfein Wood', taking *rac* in its literal and original sense. The line might be a syllable long, so that we might read *A rac gweith coet Ll.*, 'and from the battle of Ll. wood', or *A rac Argoet Llwyfein* 'and before A. Ll.,' which might be regularized in metre by omitting the *A* 'and'; but none of these possibilities is as likely as the natural and simple reading suggested, especially as *rac Coet* means the same as *yn Argoet*.

Line 22.—The line should be six syllables, and an extra syllable is improbable in a line of six syllables divided into two threes. The long word seems to be *ryvel*: and the abstract 'war' or 'warring' is obviously much less likely to have been used by the bard than the concrete 'blood'. We may therefore confidently assume that the original word was either *gwaet* (old *goit* or *guoit*) or *creu* (old *crou*); I choose *gwaet* because of its alliteration with *gwŷr*. How either word could have been mistaken for *ryvel* is not quite clear; but if *guoit* were misread *gueit*(*h*), the scribe might substitute the unambiguous *ryvel* for it (*gweith* 'battle; work'; *ryvel* 'war').

Line 23.—*gwerin* means the 'crew' of a ship, the 'rank and file' of an army; here it is obviously the *men* ("the men were splendid"). The translators have taken it in the distinctively modern sense of 'common people'.

The initial of *gan* as well as of *cân* would be *c* in Old Welsh, so that the *g* is in any case the scribe's own spelling; the sense seems to require *cân*. This implies that *gwerin a grysswys* is nominative absolute, followed by a new sentence beginning with the verb *cân* with its radical initial, which is exactly what happens in the Gododdin line *Gwyr a gryssyassant, buant gytneit*, B.A., 9·3, cf. l. 10, and 2·21.

einewyδ for *eiliewyδ* 'minstrel' is a mistake made often by the scribe. It shows that *l* was short in his copy; and makes it fairly certain that his copy for this poem was in the same hand as that from which he copied "Gweith Gwen Ystrad", which was in Insular script, as seen below.

Line 24.—*Arinaf y* is obviously a corrupt reading: but emendation can only be conjectural. The *y* is the scribe's own affixed pronoun, cf. above, p. 142, fn. 2, and p. 155 ll. 6-7. The suggested emendation assumes the reading of *li* as *n*, as in the preceding line, and the common error of taking *m* for *ri*. The error of reading *us* as *m* (transliterated *f*), is that which we meet with in l. 21 of the next

poem, where *uis* was read *im*, the down-stroke of the *s* being taken for the last stroke of the *m*. Cf. *lliaws blynedd, Myv.* 275 b 43, and *lliaws awr* ib. 142 b. 3. I have not found an old example of the compound *amliaws*, but it is a very probable one, as shown by *amnifer*, and the frequency of *lliaws* in these poems. For *amnifer* see *Myv.* 151a, *amniverwch* 167 b 59, *amnivereit* B.T. 1·4. *Am liaws* as two words cannot be assumed, for this use of the preposition *am* does not seem to be old. But the *meaning* is made fairly certain by the rest of the line.

All the translators, from Lewis Morris to Dr. Evans, have gone hopelessly wrong over the last two lines because they failed to understand the last three words; they took *nat* 'song' to be the conjunction *nat* 'that not', and understood *kynnyδ* in its modern sense of 'increase, prosper(ity)'. Carnhuanawc alone is candid enough to admit that he does not understand this line. Dr. Evans renders it, "but I prophesy that, for a year, they will not prosper", which is no better and no worse than the others. It is to Carnhuanawc's credit that he saw that the poem could not end in such bathos. *Nât* is 'song', see above p. 141; *wy* is a medieval form of *yw*, modern *i'w*, 'to their', see my *Gram.*, pp. xxvii, 277; *kynnyδ* 'victory', cf. *ar kinit* (i.e., *ar gynnyδ*) B.B. 51·13, 'victorious, in the ascendant'; *kynyδwys* W. B. Mab., col. 37, 'he conquered, annexed'; *kynyδu*, R. B. Bruts 254·5, 'to conquer'; *kynyδasant* ib. 112·18, 'conquered'. Hence *nât wy kynnyδ* 'a (or the) song to their victory'.

The poem that naturally comes next for consideration is "the Battle of Gwen Ystrat", pp. 56-7. Stephens takes Gwen Ystrad to be Winsterdale (near Windermere), which seems rather far west for the men of Catraeth to be fighting Angles, whom he assumes to be the enemy in the poem. Skene identifies it with the valley of the Gala Water, *F.A.B.*, ii, p. 412, because he sees in Garanwynion the name of the scene of Arthur's eighth battle (*in Castello Guinnion*), which he believes to have been fought in Wedale i, 55, and because Gala seems to be mentioned in Galystem. Stephens takes the latter to be a reference to a previous battle, *Y Gododin*, p. 73; and this seems to be right, for the description of this battle ends naturally with the surrender of the enemy, l. 22. It seems safer to look for Gwen Strat nearer Catraeth, and

I suggest that it is Wensleydale, formerly called Wentsedale (Camden, 1594, p. 562). The poem describes an irruption of Picts (with allies, Scots and Angles?) who, coming probably from Galloway and entering the valley from the west, held it until they were routed by Urien.

GWEITH GWEN YSTRAT.

Arwyre gwŷr Catraeth gan ꝺyꝺ
Am wledic gweithvuꝺic gwarthegyꝺ.
Uryen hwn a(n)*r* wawt ei(n)*lie*(u)*w*yꝺ;
Kyfeꝺ(eily) teyrneꝺ ae gofy(n)δ;
Ryfelgar rwy(sc) enwir rwyf bedyꝺ.
Gwŷr Pryd(ei)*y*n a (dwythein) *gyrchyn* (?) yn llüyꝺ
Gwen (Y)strad, (y)stad(y)*a*l kat kyvygyꝺ.
Ny (n)*r*oꝺes na maës na choedyꝺ
(tut) Achles ꝺy̆ ormes pan ꝺyvyꝺ.
Mal tonnawr tost eu gawr dros elvyꝺ
Gweleis wŷr gwychyr yn llüyꝺ;
A gwedy boregat briwgic.
Gweleis (i) twr(w)f teirffin tra*n*ghedic,
Gwaeꝺ gohoyw gofaran gochlyw(yd)*it*;
Yn amwyn Gwen (Y)strat y gwelit
Gofur (hag) a gwŷr llawr lluꝺedic.
Yn drws ryt gweleis(y) wŷr lletruꝺyon,
Eir(y)f ꝺillw*n*g (y) rac blawr go(f)*r*edon;
Unynt tanc gan aethant golluꝺyon,
Llaw y*n*g croes (gryt) y*n*gro G(a)ranwynyon;
Kyfe(d)*n*wynt (y) gynrein kywy(md)*stl*on—
Gwanecawr gol(ly)chynt rawn eu kaffon.

Gweleis (i) wŷr gospeithic gospylat,
A gwyar a vaglei ar ꝺillat,
A dullyaw diaflym dwys wrth kat;
Kat gwortho, (n)*r*y bu ffo pan pwyllat(t),
Glyw Reget, reveꝺaf (i) pan veiꝺat.

Gweleis (i) ran reodic am Uryen,
Pan amwyth ae alon yn Llech (w)*Vel*en. (Galystem)
†(oeꝺ llafyn *yn* aessawr gwyr)
Y wytheint †goborthit wrth a*n*ghen.
Awyꝺ kat a ꝺ(i)*y*ffo e Ur(owyn)*yen*.
Ac yny vallwyf, etc.

THE BATTLE OF GWEN YSTRAT.

The men of Catraeth arise with the dawn
Around their prince, victorious raider of cattle.
Uryen is he, in the minstrel's song;
The banquet of princes is subject to him ;
Warlike, he is named the lord of Christendom.
The men of Prydyn advanced (?) in hosts
To Gwen Ystrat, the territory (?) of the fighter of battles.
Neither field nor woods afforded
Shelter to aggression when it came.
Like waves loud roaring over the land
I saw impetuous men in hosts;
And after the morning battle, mangled flesh.
I saw the throng of three regions dead.
A rueful sullen cry was heard;
Defending Gwen Ystrat were seen
A low rampart, and dejected tired men.
At the gate of the ford I saw bloodstained men
Laying down their arms before the hoary weirs.
They made peace, for they had become weary,
With hand on cross on the shingle of Granwynion.
The leaders named their hostages—
The waves washed the tails of their horses.

I saw men haggard (?), ragged (?),
And the blood that stained [their] clothes,
And keen intense fighting in the battle;
Battle-coverer, they took to flight when they knew:
Prince of Rheged, I marvel that he was dared.

I saw a noble band (?) about Uryen,
When he contended with his foes at Llech Velen.[a]
His spears[b] were supplied at need.
May the desire of battle come to Uryen.
And until I perish, etc.

[a] Gloss: Galystem. [b] Gloss: the blade would be in men's shields.

Notes on "Gweith Gwen Ystrat".

This and the preceding poem are the only two of which translations appear in the *Myvyrian*. The version of this is by Evan Evans, i, p. 52 (²48). Carnhuanawc paraphrases ll. 1, 2, 11-14, *Hanes*, p. 280. Stephens, *The Gododin*, p. 73, quotes a very loose metrical version from Edward Jones's *Musical and Poetical Relicks*, 1794, p. 20. Nash's

translation, *Taliesin*, p. 98, has been referred to above, p. 19. Robert Williams's version appears in *F.A.B.*, i, p. 343; and Dr. Evans's in II, p. 159. All the versions are very inaccurate. Evan Evans omits what he can make nothing of, and Carnhuanawc attempts only a few lines. Dr. Evans has not a single line right; his version bears almost no relation to the original.

Metre.—The metre is "cyhydedd fer" (*Dosp. Ed.*, pp. xxix-xxx); the length of the line is eight syllables; but, as before, an extra syllable may be added. In the above amended text I have left nine lines of nine in the first 22 lines; but as seen in the following notes this number ought probably to be considerably reduced. After line 22 the metre is "cyhydedd naw ban": this confirms the suggestion already made that these lines do not belong to the poem. The change of metre which we saw in the first poem is quite different from this, for "toddaid" and "toddaid byr" have regularly been joined to other metres,—it is indeed their function: "cyhydedd naw ban" + "toddaid" forms the metre "gwawdodyn"; "cyhydedd fer" + "toddaid byr" forms "byr a thoddaid", and "clogyrnach", which is a variant of it. But a change from one *length* to another of equal lines, as from "cyhydedd fer" to "naw ban" is improbable.

Title.—The poem has no title in the manuscript.

Line 3.—*ar wawt*, see above pp. 137-8; the error as well as the *hag* in l. 16 shows that the poem is copied from an Old Welsh MS.

einewyδ is the error we have already met with in the first poem l. 23, see note, p. 159; and see next note.

Line 4.—*Kyfeδeily.* No doubt *eilieuid* (i.e. *eiliewyδ*) did look rather like *eineuid* in the old MS., so a reader inserted the correct reading *eili* in the margin, probably with some mark against the letters (which looked like *ein*) in the line. But our scribe copied them *ein* all the same, and inserted the marginal *eili* (in his own spelling *eily*) in the text where it happened to come; evidently *kyfeδ* was the last word in the line. On the scribe's habit of introducing marginal and other glosses, see above pp. 140-4.

gofyn. I correct the *n* to *δ* not because *n* and *δ* cannot rhyme, but because the *n* of *gofyn* is double (*gofynn*), and cannot answer the single consonant. *Gofyδ* 'is under' is the opposite of *gorfyδ* 'is over', i.e. 'conquers', etc. Owing to the shortness of long strokes in his copy the scribe seems sometimes to have confused a straight backed *d* with *n*; cf. l. 21.

Line 5.—*rwy* is the perfective particle *ry* (older *ro*) joined to the infixed accusative pronoun *y* 'him'; substituting the modern *fe* for *ro*, the construction is *fe'i henwir*. The scribe failed to understand it, and took it for an incomplete word. On *bedyδ* see note on line 1 of the next poem, p. 173 below.

Line 6.—*Prydein* is the usual error for *Prydyn*. Although I have marked the emendation of *dwythein* into *gyrchyn* conjectural, I think it probable. A verb is required here, and *gyrchyn* fits exactly. It would be spelt *circhint* in Old Welsh; in Insular script *ir* is often *very* like *ui* (as the second stroke of *u* was sometimes produced below the line like the first stroke of *r*), and *c* and *t* might be confused, as in later hands; and we have only to assume that our scribe read *circh* as *tuith*. He would naturally make it rhyme with *Prydein*.

Line 7.—*Ystrat*. monosyllable, generally written *strat* in Old Welsh. The word *ystadyl* seems to be *stadal* which occurs in the Book of Aneirin, 37·9, where spelling and metre prove it to be a dissyllable; *stadal vleiδiat* 'defender of a border'? cf. *bleiδyat ryt*, ib. 25·10. In our text we have also *ystadyl tir Penprys*, 65·4.

kyvygyδ 'fighter': *cyvygu* 'to fight', *gor-chyvygu* 'to surpass in fight', i.e., 'to conquer', now *gorchfygu*. Dr. Evans reads *kyny gyδ*; I have only two facsimiles to go by, but I think the MS. reading is *kyu-*. In any case *u* is the correct reading.—Since the above was put in type Mr. Gwynn Jones has been kind enough to verify the reading for me in the original MS. He writes, "I believe the letter is *u*, though it is very easy to take it for *n*".

Line 8.—Perhaps the first *na* should be omitted.

Line 9.—*tut* faint, as if obliterated early—but we look in vain for the desired palaeographical notes in Dr. Evans's book. It begins the line and seems to be a line-division error, consisting of an incorrect repetition of the *tid*, which formed the last syllable of *choedyδ* in the copy.

δy, the Old Welsh *di* half transliterated; so in 46·4, see above, p. 134. The medieval form is *y* 'to'.

dyvyδ, present. The present after *pan* in a past sense survives in Medieval Welsh: *a phan δaw nit oeδ* . . . 'and when he came there was not . . . ' W.B.M., c. 74.

Line 10.—Probably *eu* should be omitted.

Line 11.—*gwychyr* (though spelt *guichr* in the Ox. alphabet, if it is the same word), is a dissyllable *guichir* as a gloss on *effrenus* in the Juv. Cod. So in Medieval Welsh: *Eryr gwychyr gweith Veigen* (7 syll.), *Myv.* 205b.

Line 13.—*twr(w)f* is common in these poems for the modern *torf* 'throng, host', see above, p. 142, and below "Yng Ngorffowys", l. 17. On the present line (56·23) Dr. Evans has the sapient note, "Gweleis t*w*r*w*f = I saw thunder! Read: torov = torv", mistaking, as usual, the old *twrwf* for the modern *twrw*, 'noise, thunder'.

Line 14.—*gohoyw*, cf. 20·15; *govaran*, 'wrathful', B.A. 8·15; *gochlywit* should perhaps be *clywit*, reducing the line to 8 syll.

Lines 15 and 16.—See pp. 132-3 above. The meaning of *llawr* as an adjective is elusive is some passages; but it seems in some cases to denote 'cast down'; e.g., "There was no contention in which a host was not *llawr* to him," B.A. 11·8. Cf. *portheis i lawrweδ*, B.T. 19·15, by the side of *porthi heint a hoed*, B.B. 51·5.

Line 18.—*gofedon*. The scribe seems to have read *r* as *u* and transcribed it *f*.

Line 19.—See above, p. 19.

Line 20.—Perhaps *gryt* represents the original word, ? an oblique case *cric* (*cryg*) of *croc* 'cross', on which *croes* was a gloss.

G(a)ranwynyon. This seems to be the name of a ford or place on the river. There is a reference to this description of the enemy being brought to bay at Granwynion in the ninth century poem "Armes Prydein": *Blaen with vôn Granwynyon kyvyng oeδyn*, B.T. 14·23, 'Front against back [i.e , closely packed] at Granwynyon hard-pressed were they'. *Granwyn* also occurs in 43·2.

Line 21.—*Kyfedwynt*. See note on *gofyn* in line 4.

kywym don. I have no doubt this is an error for *kywystlon*, as *tl* is (like *cl*) very frequently mistaken for a straight-backed *d*, and vice versa. The word *kywystlon* would be written in Old Welsh *ciguuistlon*, the *s* being like the familiar continental *r* but with its stroke brought down a little below the line. The scribe copied *cigu* as *kyw*, as usual; the *uis*, which had the form *uip*, he read as *im* (the tag of the *s* being merged in the top stroke of the following *t*), and wrote them *ym*; he read *tlon* as *don*. He evidently had no idea what the line meant. (For *cigu-* cf. *ciguerem* B.A. 38·1, *ciguereint* 38·21. It might have been *cou-*, cf. *coueidid*, *F.A.B.* ii, 2. But the vowel of the syllable was *ui*, not *i*, so that there were two *u*'s in any case.)

Line 22.—*Gwanecawr*, pl. of *gwanec* 'wave'; the pl. *gwenyc* would give a line of right length.

gollychynt. The scribe seems to have hesitated between *golchynt* and *gwlychynt*, but *golchi* is the verb used of waves. In Old Welsh we find (rarely) a silent *i* medially between spirants, as *centhiliat* for *centhliat*; and as *l* before *ch* may be voiceless, the original may have had *guollichint* for *golchynt*.

rawn 'horsehair', specifically "the hair of a horse's tail", Pughe.

kaffon 'horses' for **cafon* from *cabones* pl. of *cabō* (which occurs as a Latin gloss, see Walde s.v. *caballus*) of which *caballos* is a diminutive. The latter gives Welsh *cafall*. The change of *f* to *ff* in *caffon* and the modern *ceffyl* is obscure. *Tyllei garn gaffon* B.A. 26·21.

As with the concluding lines of the previous poem, none of the translators has come anywhere near understanding these two lines.

Evan Evans and Carnhuanawc omit them. The renderings of the others are:

"They are a feast for the worms rising out of the earth.
The pale birds of prey are wet with grasping the gore."—Nash.

"The tribes revel over the rising wave.
The billows protect the hair of their captures."—R. Williams.

"(Owein's) chieftains know the triumphant note; *as*
it is poured forth, they hide the tumult in their hearts."
—Dr. Evans.

The average number of words correctly rendered is *one*. Nash has none, for even 'are wet' is not right for 'made wet'. R. Williams has 'billows' and 'hair', and Dr. Evans has 'chieftains'.

Line 23.—I have already referred twice to the break here. The metre changes from 8/9 to 9/10. The initial G of this line is much larger in the manuscript than ordinary gothic initials in the middle of the line; and Dr. Evans represents the difference graphically in his diplomatic reproduction. I believe lines 23-27 and 28-31 are fragments of another poem or poems—snatches remembered by the minstrel who recited them to the Old Welsh writer. The large initial G and the gothic G of line 28 suggest that these lines formed two paragraphs in the original MS., marked off from the preceding lines and in a lesser degree from each other.

gospeithic (?) *gospylat* (?). The suggested renderings are mere guesses.

Line 24.—*vaglei* 'stained', from the Latin *maculo* 'to cover with spots, to stain'.

Line 28.—*reodic* 'noble'; *reodic rec* 'noble gift', *Myv.*, 195a 39; pl. *ryhodigyon*, B.T., 33·21: derivative of *ryhawt*, 63·1. I have rendered *ran reodic* 'noble band', but this is very doubtful. I am inclined to think that *reodic* here is a misreading for *Deodric*, a word which would mean nothing to the ninth century minstrel, and for which he would be likely to substitute a known word. 'I saw the fate of Deodric at the hands of Uryen' (?) For *am* in this sense see note on l. 20 of "Uryen Yrechwydd" below.

amwyth. See my *Gram.*, p. 371, iv (2). Dr. Evans's note "amwyth *ae*. Inadmissible construction" is one of his incomprehensible utterances on points of grammar. *Amwyn* is always followed by *a*; see *Gr.* 371, ll. 4, 5, and his own Intr., p. xx, near bot.

Llech Wen.—The rhyme is *-en* (single *n*) and *wen* is in full *wenn*; the rhyming of single with double consonants was the one thing that was not done. I take *Wen* to be an error for *Velen*. *Llech Velen* is 'yellow stone', and it seems clear that *Galystem* is a gloss on

it, representing a corruption of the later name—Old English *geolu stán* 'yellow stone'. Was the battle at Galston, when Urien was fighting in Aeron (Ayr)?

Line 30.—*wytheint*, 'blades'? The line *En llogborth y gueleise vitheint* B.B. 72 begins an englyn which is followed by others in a series of the kind in which the beginning is repeated with slight variations: in the other englynion *wytheint* is replaced by *ciminad* 'felling' or 'cutting down', *gottoev* 'spear', *arwev* 'arms'. In B.T. 20·18·19 *gwytheint* seems to be echoed by *llafnawr* 'blades', l. 24. In 36·13 the *a* after it seems an error. The glossator seems to have understood it as 'blades'; the gloss explains why they had to be supplied. The line ends at llaf | and the omission of the second *yn* seems to be a line-division error.

Line 31.—The curious error *Urowyn* (with the *o* under-dotted) is repeated in a slightly different form in the *Uruwyn* of 62·14. The Old Welsh spelling of the name is *Urbgen*, see *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, p. 173. The *o* in the scribe's first mistake is clearly a misreading of *b* in a flat-topped hand. The *u* in the second mistake is his usual transliteration of medial *b* as *v*. In the old script *e* was tall like the *l* of modern writing; before *n* it was sometimes (very rarely) turned back below the line (instead of forward on the line), thus, ; see two examples in Professor Lindsay's Plate xiii, *accentis* line 3, *accidentis*, line 9. There is a peculiar broken form of it in *nomen* in the last line of the specimen on p. 136 above. It seems that our scribe took this rare and peculiar *e* for the contraction for *ui* (cf. Skene *F.A.B.*, ii, p. 2, last line), which had the form  made up of a *v* with the second stroke carried up and an *i* hanging from its end. He regularly transliterates *gui* as *wy*. Of course where *Urbgen* was written in the ordinary way, he regularly transliterates it *Uryen*. (The spelling *urbgen* represents the pronunciation *urvyen*, where *y* = English *y*; but the *v* had vanished in the pronunciation before the twelfth century.) I am indebted to Professor Lindsay for the form of the contraction for *ui*. It is, as Skene calls it, an Irish contraction; but "in abbreviation the Welsh and Irish systems are practically identical", *Early Welsh Script*, p. 40.

In the above translations, as well as in those that follow, I have aimed at literalness rather than effect, in order that the reader may the more easily and fully understand the original, in which alone it is possible to study the wording and appreciate the form. The definite article is not used in either of the poems except once as a demon-

strative; I do not wish to lay too much stress upon this, for it is a feature of the language of the oldest poetry that persisted, and was imitated in the twelfth century. The vocabulary is purely British and Latin; it does not contain one word borrowed from Irish or English, not to mention French. No doubt later forms have in some cases been substituted for earlier ones, but it has not been done to the extent of seriously affecting the metre. The chief difficulty of the poems (apart from the unintelligence of copyists) lies in the number of old words which they contain—not in the style, which is perfectly simple, and quite unlike the involved and laboured diction cultivated by the twelfth century bards. It is not only simple but reticent in a high degree. The effect is gained as much by what is left unsaid as by what is said. In "Gweith Argoet Llwyfein" we see the blustering Fflamddwyn; we hear his mocking challenge; Owein's defiance; Urien's speech to his men, unfolding the plan of attack; of the battle itself, nothing; we infer from the speech what took place, and are told only the result. The pause is marked by a change of metre; we drop suddenly from the high-pitched flowing movement of the speech to the low staccato of the "toddaid byr"; then for the final note of triumph the original rhythm is for a moment resumed. In "Gweith Gwen Ystrat" we have glimpses of the battle at different stages, so vivid that the mind instinctively fills in the details. The invaders come in hosts like waves rolling over the land; in the morning battle they are cut up; the remnant defend the valley; weary, they lay down their arms—the hoary weirs behind them; they make peace, hand on cross; they name their hostages; the waves wash the tails of their horses. That picture is drawn from nature; it is the work of a man who painted what he had seen. It is drawn with clear eye and

unerring hand; it bears the impress of actuality. The manuscript evidence takes it back to the ninth century. Are we to stop there? Is this the picture of a ninth century battle drawn by an unknown artist who changed the proper names and fathered his work on Taliesin? It seems to require a sturdier faith to believe this than to accept the tradition.

Reference has been made above, p. 85, to Cynddelw's allusion to "Gweith Argoet Llwyfein" in his elegy on Owein Gwynedd. The passage is as follows:—

> Y*n*gwrfoes y*n*gorfaes kyf(y)rgein;
> Y*n*gorvawr gwryawr goradein;
> Y*n*gwryal y*n*gwryd Ywein
> Y*n*gorun aergun argyfrein[1]
> Yn aergad yn A(e)rgoed Llwyvein;
> Ym penn dreic dremynt oet kelein.
>
> —Wms. MS. 36a, *Myv.* 152a.

'In manliness in the field [he was] superb;
In a mighty onrush [he was] swift;
In attack [he fought] with the valour of Owein
In the tumult of the war-lord's doom
In the battle in Argoed Llwyfein;
In the dragon's head the glance was death [lit. corpse].'

That is the twelfth century style, in which resounding words are piled up with a minimum of connectives, and lucidity is the last thing thought of. If my rendering of the fourth line is correct Cynddelw believed that the 'war-lord' was killed in the battle; we have the testimony of "Marwnad Owein", given below, that Owein killed Fflamddwyn, but neither of the Taliesin poems states that

[1] In the MS. an e is inserted above the line in a later hand after a- in this word. It is, however, probable that *argyfrein* is the correct reading: it is a fairly common word, and is usually taken to mean 'obsequies'; but in such a line as *Kyn noe argyvrein e waet e lawr* B.A., 2·10, 'before his *a.* his blood was shed' it is used, as I take it to be above, in a more general sense as 'death'. The Old Welsh *arcibrenou* (= *argyvreinou*) is a gloss on "sepulti".

he was killed at Argoed Llwyfein; it was, however, natural to assume that his defeat at Argoed in one poem and his death at the hands of Owein in the other referred to the same event, and there may have been a tradition to that effect. There can be no doubt that the "Ywein" of the above passage is Owein ap Uryen, or that "the battle in Argoed Llwyfein" is the battle commemorated in our poem. But when Cynddelw, in the earlier eulogy of Owein Gwynedd, speaks of a battle which he himself had *seen*, "above the Caer, above the wood of Llwyfein":

Gweleis aer uch caer uch coed Llwyfein, *Myv.* 150a,

and in which, he goes on to say, Owein Gwynedd and his men distinguished themselves, it is obvious that he cannot possibly be referring to our "battle of Argoed Llwyfein". As stated above, p. 71, there was, no doubt, a Llwyfein in Flintshire; and Dr. Evans may be right in supposing, p. xxi, that Cynddelw is speaking here of the battle in which Owein Gwynedd defeated Henry II near Coleshill in 1157 (Lloyd, 497). His mistake consists in the not unnatural supposition that the two Llwyfeins are one and the same; this error of rolling two places into one became the starting point of the new geography and the eponym theory; it brought Taliesin into the twelfth century, and made Owein Gwynedd his hero. But Llwyfein, as we have seen, was a pretty common place-name; and as the word means 'elms' it must have denoted a 'wood' wherever it is found; there is therefore no conceivable reason why there should not be a coed Llwyfein in Flintshire in the twelfth century and a coed Llwyfein in the North in the sixth. But Cynddelw has another reference to our poem of Argoed Llwyfein, which shows when and to whom he regarded Taliesin as having sung it. A notable feature of the poem is that it does honour not only to Uryen and his son Owein but to their *gwerin* or

army. The use of this very word by Cynddelw shows that he has this poem in mind:

> Ny bu warthlef kert Kynverching werin
> O benn Talyessin bartrin beirtri*ng*.[1]—*Myv.* 169a.

> 'Not inglorious was the song of the army of the house of Cynfarch
> From the mouth of Taliesin of bardic lore, exemplar of bards.'

This comes from the elegy on Rhiryd Vleidd. According to Cynddelw, then, Taliesin sang, not to the men of Gwynedd, but to the men of Kynverching, or the house of Cynfarch, that is, to the army of the *historical* Urien and Owein, who were respectively the son and grandson of Cynfarch; see the pedigree (from Harl. 3859) in *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, 173. This twelfth century reference to Taliesin is not mentioned by Dr. Evans, so true is his remark of 1909, quoted above, p. 146, about "undue neglect of what saps" a theory; "undue neglect" is, however, much too mild a term to apply to his treatment of the evidence that tells against him.

I come now to the simpler songs in praise of Urien: "Uryen Yrechwydd", 57·14; "E*ng* *n*gorffowys", 58·13; and "Dadolwch Uryen", 65·5.

URYEN YRECHWYDD.

Uryen Yrechwyð, haelaf dyn bedyð,
Lliaws a roðyð ý ðynyon elvyð;
Mal y kynnullyð *mal* yt wesceryð.
Llawen beirð bedyð tra vo dy vuchyð;
Ys mwy llewenyð gan clotvan clotryð:
Ys mwy gogonyant vot Uryen ae plant,
Ac ef (yn) arbennic, (yn) oruchel wledic,
(yn) Dinas pellennic, (yn) keimat kynteïc.
Lloegrwys ae gwyðant pan ymadroðant:

[1] Medial and final $t = \delta$. *Barδrin* is a recognised compound, 'bardic lore'; also used adjectively as a "possessive" compound ('possessing bardic lore'): but *beirδring* is a word coined for the nonce; I take it to be *beirδ-δring*, in some such sense as 'to whom the bards aspire'.

Angheu a gawssant   a mynych goꝺyant—
Llosci eu trefret   a dwyn eu tuꝺet
A(c eimwnc) *mynych* (?) collet   a mawr anghyffret,
Heb gaffel gwaret   rac Uryen Reget.
Reget ꝺiffreidyat,   clot iôr, angor gwlat,
Vy moꝺ yssyꝺ arnat   o pop erclywat.
Dwys dy peleidrat   pan erclywat kat.
Kat pan ý kýrchy(nt)δ,   gwynyeith a wne(it)*y*δ,
Tân yn tei kyn dyꝺ   rac uꝺ Yrechwyꝺ,
Yrechwyꝺ teccaf   ae dynon haelhaf:
Gnawt Eingl heb waessaf   am tëyrn glewhaf.
Glewhaf eissyllyꝺ,   t(yd)i goreu yssyꝺ,
(o'r) A vu ac a vyꝺ,—   ny'th oes kystedlyꝺ.
Pan dremher arnaw   ys ehalaeth (y) braw.
(gnawt) Gwyleꝺ amdanaw,   am tëyrn gocnaw.
Amdanaw gwyleꝺ,   a (lliaws) *mawr* maranheꝺ,
Eurtëyrn Gogleꝺ,   arbenhic tëyrneꝺ.
Ac yny vallwyf, etc.

URYEN OF YRECHWYDD.

Uryen of Yrechwydd, most generous man in Christendom,
Much dost thou give to the men of the world;
As thou gatherest, so thou scatterest.
Happy the bards of Christendom while thy life lasts;
It is greater happiness to the hero's eulogist;
It is greater glory that Uryen and his sons live,
Since he is the chief, the lord paramount,
Stronghold of the stranger, foremost fighter.
The Lloegrians know it when they converse:
Death have they suffered and many vexations—
The burning of their homes and the taking of their attire,
And many (?) a loss and much tribulation,
Without finding deliverance from Uryen Rheged.
Rheged's defender, famous lord, anchor of [his] country,
My heart is [set] on thee of all [men of] renown.
Intense is thy spear-play when [the din of] battle is heard.
To battle when thou goest, vengeance thou wreakest,
Houses on fire before dawn in the van of the lord of Yrechwydd,
The fairest Yrechwydd and its most generous men:
The Angles are without security on account of the bravest prince.
Of the bravest stock, thou art the best that is,
That has been and will be,—thou hast no peer.
When men gaze on him widespread is the awe.

Courtesy around him—around the glorious prince.
Around him courtesy and great resources,
Golden prince of the North, chief of princes.
And until I perish, etc.

Notes on "Uryen Yrechwydd".

Nash's text was corrupt, and his translation of that (*Tal.* 106) is very inaccurate. R. Williams's version appears in *F.A.B.*, i, p. 344; also inaccurate. Dr. Evans, ii, 77, corrects some of the errors of his predecessors, and falls into other errors of his own: but he comes nearer the meaning of the original here than in most of his efforts.

Metre.—Half-lines of five syllables, rhyming in pairs, and forming lines of ten syllables. That ten syllables is the unit is shown by "Dadolwch Uryen" below, in which, in some cases, the arrangement of the rhymes within the compass of the ten syllables is different. When the lines are divided into short periods, as here, we can hardly assume long or short lines.

Title.—The poem has no title in the MS.

Line 1.—*Bedydd* is not 'baptism', but an abstract or collective noun denoting the baptized as opposed to the heathen. Another form is *bedysawt* from *ba(p)tizāti*, which became a fem. sg. noun, as in *O'r croc creulet y deuth guared i'r vedissyaud*, B.B., 41, 'From the bloody cross came salvation to Christendom'. In late literature it is spelt *bydysawd* and used for 'universe' on the mistaken supposition that it is a derivative of *byd*.

Line 2.—*roδyδ*; the *-yδ* is the termination of the 2nd sg. pres. ind., now *-i*; Modern Welsh *rhoddi* 'thou givest'. So in line 3.

Line 3.—The second half of this line is a syllable short. The missing syllable is perhaps *mal* before *yt* to answer *mal y* in the first part. In the later language the forms are *val . . . velly* 'as . . . so', but *velly* is a reduction of *val hyn*, and the demonstrative *hyn* need not have been used originally.

Line 5.—*clotvan* 'highly praised' from *clod* 'praise' and *ban* 'high'; it is often used as a noun, as in *Myv.*, 188 b 18, 194 b 37; hence we may render it 'hero'. *clotrydd* 'freely praising', cf. *gwawdrydd* the epithet of *Aneirin*; here used as a noun 'eulogist'. The first noun depends on the other in the genitive, like *Reget uδ*, etc.

Line 6.—The rhyme is taken up in line 9 and continued in line 10.

Line 7.—This and the next line are two syllables long; the redundant syllables are doubtless the repeated *yn* introducing a complement, which might be omitted in the early period; see note on *yn hen* above, p. 155.

arbennic is a noun, as in line 26, not an adjective qualifying *oruchel wledic*.

Line 8.—*pellennic* is usually a noun, 'stranger', in Medieval Welsh, pl. *pellennigyon*, R.B.M., p. 162: and *dinas pellennic* would hardly be used for *dinas pell* 'far city'. Words like stronghold, fort. wall, etc., are frequently used figuratively for 'defender' in the old poetry.

Keimat is a 'fighter' (from *camp*), not a 'companion' from *cam* 'step'. Dr. Evans renders correctly both halves of this line.

Line 9.—*Lloegrwys* 'men of Lloegr'. In Geoffrey's Brut *Lloegr* is the central part of the Island (of Britain), R.B.B., p. 60. I am not aware that the name has been explained; but it seems to denote the territory of the Angles. In line 20 the people are called *Eingl* 'Angles', which, it need hardly be pointed out, is historically correct for the opponents of Urien. There are no *Saeson* for Dr. Evans to "demolish".

Line 12.—*Ac eimwnc.* It seems as if the scribe of the copy had begun to write a word like *eirim* (*eirif*), and then gone on to write *minic* (*mynych*), which our scribe copied as *mwnc*. The word *mynych* occurs in line 10, but its repetition is not improbable.

Line 14.—*clot*, from Aryan **klutóm*, 'that which is heard, fame', may also be the perf. part. pass. **klutós*, and so may be an adjective.

Line 15.—The first half-line is long: the relatival form *yssyδ* is used as in Medieval and Modern Welsh; in Old Welsh the verb would be the simple form *ys* or *yw*.

The scribe puts a stop after *arnat* and uses a capital *O* in *O pop erclywat*, thus connecting it with the following lines, and therefore understanding it to mean something like 'By all report'. Such a break in the middle of the line is not improbable; but the sense it gives here can hardly be the right one. In any case *erclywat* is a perf. part. pass. here, and in the next line a passive verb (the same form with the verb 'to be' understood). It may be added that *o bob* . . . and *o bawb* are commonly used after verbs of choosing, appreciating, etc.

Line 17.—There can be no doubt that the ending of the verbs should be that of the 2nd sg. pres. ind., to rhyme with the next line.

Line 20.—*am* 'on account of', 'at the hands of'; this proves the meaning assumed in the note on l. 28 of the last poem, p. 166.

Line 23.—The article *y* makes the line too long, and must be omitted.

Line 24.—*am* 'around', as in l. 2 of "Gweith Argoet Llwyfein"; the use of the word in this sense, even with personal suffixes, is put beyond doubt by *llu nef ymdanaw*, 11·9, 'the host of heaven around Him'.

gocnaw, perhaps 'triumphant'. *Gwyr a aeth Odoδin, chwerthin ognaw*, B.A. 2·13, 'Men went to Gododdin with exultant laughter',

probably: *chwerthin wanar*, ib., l. 18, does not help. Cynddelw has *wryd woynaw* 'of triumphant (?) valour (manliness)' *Myv.* 168b; and Prydydd y Moch has *teyrn kedyrn cad ognaw* which apparently means 'prince of mighty ones victorious in battle', ib. 203b. The word may possibly be a form related to *gogoniant*, but with different vowel gradation.

Line 25.—*llïaws* should probably be *mawr*, or some similar monosyllable; *mawr* is probable because it alliterates with *maranhedd*, cf. lines 4, 5, 8.

maranneδ 'store, provision, supplies', etc.; see e.g. R.B.M. 12·18.

Line 26.—The second half-line is long: *arbenhic* may be a substitution for a dissyllable such as *rieu*, or *unben* (Dr. Evans), suggested by such a phrase as *arbenhic milwyr*, W.B.M., col. 123.

YNG NGORFFOWYS.

E*ng n*gorffowys   can ry chedwys
Parch a chynnwys,   (a) með meneðwys;
Meneðwys með   ẏ orvoleð,
A chein tireð   im(i) yn ryfeð,
A ryfeð mawr   (ac eur) *ó cet* ac awr,
Ac awr a chet   achyfrivet,
Achyfrivyant,   a roði chwant.
Chwant oe roði,   yr vy llochi,
Yt lað, yt gryc,   yt vac, yt vyc,
Yt vyc, yt vac,   yt lað yn rac.
Racweð ro(thi)δ*y*t   ẏ (veirð y) δ*ynyon* byt.
Byt yn geugant   itt(i) yt weðant
Wrth d(y) ewyllis.   Duw ry'th peris
Rieu y*n*g(ni)*ry*s   rac of(y)n dy br(i)*y*s.
Annogyat kat,   diffreidyat gwlat,
Gwlat ðiffreidyat,   kat annogyat,
Gnawt amdanat   twr(w)f pystylat,
Pystylat twr(w)f   ac yfet cwr(w)f.
Kwr(w)f oe yfet   a chein trefret
A chein tuðet   (imi) ry'*m* anllofet.
Llwyfenyð vân   a(c)'*th* eirch achlân
Yn un trygan   mawr a bychan.
Taliessin gân   ti(di) ae diðan.
Ys ti(di) goreu   o'r a gigleu
ẏ wrðlideu.
Molaf inheu   dy weithredeu.
Ac yny vallwyf, etc.

AT HOME.

In [his] home since he has given [me]
Honour and welcome, with mead has he dowered me ;
He has dowered me with the mead of his glory,
And [has given] fine lands to me in abundance,
And great abundance of gifts and gold,
And gold and gifts unnumbered,
Innumerable, and has given [my] desire.
'Tis to give my desire in order to gratify me
That he kills, that he hangs, that he rears, that he feeds,
That he feeds, that he rears, that he kills again.
He gives refection to the men of the world.
The world indeed does homage to thee
At thy will. God has made thee
Master in assault for fear of thy onslaught.
Inspirer in battle, defender of country,
Country's defender, battle inspirer,
Usual around thee is a host's tramping,
The tramping of a host and the drinking of beer.
Beer to drink and a fine homestead
And fine raiment have been bestowed on me.
The people of Llwyfenydd greet thee all
In one chorus, great and small.
The song of Taliesin entertains thee.
Thou art the best of all I have heard of
as to thy merits.
And I will praise thy works.
And until I perish, etc.

Notes on "Yng Ngorffowys".

Nash's translation appears in his *Tal.* 113 ; R. Williams's in *F.A.B.* i, p. 346 ; Dr. Evans's in II, 107. All are for the most part hopelessly astray.

Metre.—The metre is "cyhydedd fer" (see above, p. 163). In this poem each line of eight syllables is divided into two rhyming half-lines of four. The rhyme is in some cases carried over two or three lines ; but in ten consecutive lines, 5-14, the half-line rhyme is limited to the line. An extra half-line is added to l. 24 ; it would be unsafe to assume that a half-line is missing, as the three half-lines form the unit of the metre called "rhupunt", which might have been used just before the end, like the "toddaid byr" in "Gweith Argoet Llwyfein" above.

The poem is full of what is technically called "cymeriad" ('taking

up'), which is regarded by the bards as a desirable, if not necessary, ornament of verse, the absence of which is called "tor cymeriad". It consists in the repetition of words or sounds of a line in the next line, and is obviously a convention designed to aid the memory. Where the *meaning* suggests what is to follow, the sequence is called "cymeriad synhwyrol", and no other "cymeriad" is necessary. The examples of "cymeriad" in this poem are as follows:—(1) "Cymeriad geiriol",—a word at the end of a line repeated at the beginning of the next; *ryfeδ* ll. 4-5, *achyfriv-* 6-7, *rac* 10-11, *byt* 11-12. This is an early form of "cymeriad" which survives in later verse only in the connexion between the englynion in a "cadwyn" or "chain". A more elaborate form of it, which is very common in the Taliesin poems, consists in the repetition in reverse order of the words of a half-line, as *meδ meueδwys* l. 2, *meueδwys meδ* l. 3; the other examples in this poem are 7-8, 9-10, 17-18, 18-19, and 15-16, in which the whole line is repeated in inverse order. We can quite confidently amend the corrupt second half of line 5 in conformity with this principle of "cymeriad".—(2) "Cymeriad cynganeddol",—consonants repeated: *an*llo*f*e*t*, l. 20, L*lwy*f*eny*δ, l. 21; this is only recognised at the beginning of the two lines by the late prosodists.—(3) "Cymeriad llythrennol",—the repetition of the initial consonant of the line; this is the commonest form in later verse, but only one example occurs in this poem, ll. 16-17.—(4) Most of the other sequences are examples of "cymeriad synhwyrol"; and probably the carrying on of the line-rhyme into the next line was regarded as a "cymeriad".

Dr. Evans, who knows nothing whatever about these things, violates half the "cymeriadau" in his "amended" text.

Title.—The poem has no title in the manuscript.

Line 1.—*Eg gorffowys.* The *eg* is the preposition *yng*, mutation of *yn*. The *g* is the usual symbol for *ng*. Dr. Evans thunders against the spelling *yng ng-* in almost every book he publishes; here his diatribe is in II, p. xii. Consonants are not to be doubled (even in separate words!) "except under the accent", by which he means after an accented vowel. We must write *yn·Efyn* instead of *yn Nefyn* (as if one insisted on *in·Ewport* for *in Newport* in English). He implies that the two consonants are never written in full in MSS., which is *untrue*, for *yn n-*, *ym m-*, and *yg g-* are frequent. Further, the preposition *yn* followed by the nasal mutation *is* accented, see my *Gram.*, pp. 173-5; but Dr. Evans is unable to understand this, and will probably continue to rave against doubling "*except* under the accent". In the early seventeenth century it was a "merrye jest" to pretend that *yn Nyfed* was *yn yfed* (Owen's *Pem.*, i, 9, 310 fn.); Dr. Evans writes *yn·Yved* in all seriousness, p. xvii, see above p. 55, and

is angry with others because they are not equally lacking in a sense of humour.

gorffowys, literally 'rest'; here probably in the sense of 'residence, mansion, manor'; cf. *Powysfa Dewi* in Llyfr Llan Daf 158, 260. Dr. Evans takes this to be *gor Bowys,* "The border of Powys"; he imagines that in the compound *gor-or* it is the prefix *gor-* that means 'border'! Of course *or* 'border' has no *g-*.

chedwys, 3rd sg. aorist of a denominative from *ced* 'gift'.

Line 2.—*meueδwys,* 3rd sg. aor. of a denominative of *meueδ* 'property', literally 'mine', from *meu* 'my': hence *meueδwys* 'made mine'.

Line 3.—*y orvoleδ.* I have rendered this literally, without attempting to decide whether it means 'for which he is famed', or 'for his praise', or 'in which he glories'.

Line 4.—*ryfeδ* from **pro-med-*, 'beyond thought or measure' where **med-* is the root 'judge, think, measure' (*Gr.*, 378), is used in a more primitive sense than in Medieval and Modern Welsh, in which it has come to mean 'strange'.

Line 5.—*ac eur ac awr.* The Old Welsh word for 'gold' is *aur* (i.e., *awr*) which is the regular derivative of the Latin *aurum.* The form *eur* was originally the adjective, derived from *aureus* (*Gr.* 106), and cannot make sense here. The "cymeriad" makes it practically certain that *ac eur* is an error for *o cet* (*o ged*), or *a chet*; the former makes better sense. I suggest that the original text was written thus—hoc& hacaur; that the scribe misread *hoc* as *hac*, and could make nothing of the &, for which he substituted *eur*, which may have existed as a gloss on *aur.*

achyfrivet. For *ach-* as a variant of *angh-*, cf. *achen* beside *anghen* 'need' (*Gr.* 151). *-et* is a perf. part. pass. ending.

Line 6.—*achyfrivyant.* *-yant* is the pres. part. act. ending; it adds only a shade of meaning to the adjective *achyfrif* = *anghyfrif* 'numberless'; cf. *dilys* and *dilysiant.*

Line 8.—*Chwant oe roδi,* literally, 'Desire, [it is] to give it'; *Chwant* is nominative absolute; *oe* is *wy,* now *i'w* 'to . . it'; see next note.

Line 9.—*Yt* is the oblique relative 'that', which is used because the antecedent is an adverbial phrase (preposition + noun, *i'w roddi*), exactly as *y* is still used; thus *i'w roddi y lladd* '[it is] to give it that he kills (his fat stock)'.

gryc, obviously 3rd sg. pres. ind. of *crogaf* 'I hang': 'he hangs (the carcasses)'.

vac, 3rd sg. pres. ind. of *magaf* 'I rear, bring up', etc.

vyc, 3rd sg. pres. ind. of an obsolete verb **mygaf* from **muk-* (not related to *myg, edmyg,* etc., from **smik-*); the primitive perf. part. pass. or supine stem is represented by *mwyth, moeth* 'luxury', *mwyth*

werin 'well-nurtured host', *Myv.* 206a; a secondary perf. part. pass. is *myget*, as in *emys grawthvrys grawnvryged*, ib. 208a, 'horses, fast-trotting, grain-fed'; *Gwytuiled gyfred grat(y)vryged grawn*, 169 a1, '(horses) as fleet as wild beasts, for fleetness fed on grain'. The verb means 'to foster, to pamper', and is almost synonymous with *magaf*, and sometimes used with it, as here; e.g., *Ny mag . . . Ny myc*, 204 b lines 1 and 2.

Line 10.—*yn rac.* The preposition *rhag* comes from an adjectival form **prokos* cognate with the second element in the Latin *reciprocus* : *yn* with adjectival *rhag* forms an adverb 'progressively'.

Line 11.—*racweδ* is 'provision' literally and etymologically; as seen above, *rac* is an extension of original **pro*, and *weδ* is **u̯ida*, root **u̯eid-* 'see'. It seems generally to mean 'preparation'; but many words of this meaning are used for 'provision' of food.

ý veirδ y byt. The definite article *y* before *byt* is suspect; there can be no doubt that *veirδ y* is a (bardic) substitution for *δynyon*, as in "Uryen Yrechwydd" line 2, see above p. 171, where *δynyon elvyδ* (synonymous with *δynyon byt*) is used in making almost the same statement. Though *dynion* is not found in Cornish and Breton it may well be old in Welsh; if it is not, it may be a substitution in these phrases for a collective noun like *dynin* (24·17); cf. *gwerin*, from *gwŷr*.

Line 13.—The proclitic *dy* was probably *d'* before a vowel from the earliest period. It may be, however, that the original reading here was *i'th ewyllis*, see next note.

ewyllis. This word is generally spelt *ewyllys*; but in the W.B.M. we find *i'th ewyllus yδ ydym*, c. 90, 'we are at thy will', and in the next line *ewyllwys*, but lower down *ewyllus* again. It seems as if the *u* were a rounding of *i* due to the influence of the *w*; in that case *-ys* is a later modification of *-us*, and the original form is *-is*. The spelling *ewyllis* occurs elsewere in our text, 13·17.

Line 14.—*ygnis . . . . dy bris.* The exact form of these words also is doubtful, though the meaning is clear. In Old Welsh both *i* and *y* were written *i*, and the distinction between them in our MS. depends entirely upon its scribe. Probably *gnis* should be *grys* (despite *gnissynt* of 61·23 and *gnissint*, B.A. 37·15) from **gr̥d-t-*, cognate with Irish *grēss* 'attack' from **grendt-* (Fick-Stokes, 118), allied to Sanskrit *gŕ̥dhyati* 'strides out', Lat. *gradior*, *gressus*. In 66·19, *dy bris dy brys* should probably be *dy breu dy brys*, found inverted in *dy brys dy breu*, l. 24, 'bursts, breaks'; the form is therefore probably *brys* cognate with Irish *brissim* 'I break', and allied to English *burst*, etc. (Fick-Stokes, 184). The *b* is thus the Old Welsh radical which the scribe should have mutated: *dy vrys*.

Line 17.—*twr(w)f.* See note on "Gweith Gwen Ystrat", l. 13,

p. 164 above. The medieval *twr(w)f* or *twr(y)f* (silent *w* and *y*) interchanged with *twrw* in which the last *w* is nonsyllabic, being a modification of the consonant *f* (=*v*). Similarly *cwr(w)f*, *cwrw*. The final nonsyllabic *w* has now become a syllable *twr-w*, *cwr-w*.

Line 20.—*imi ry*: read *ry'm*. This emendation has actually been made by Dr. Evans, II, p. 108.

Line 21.—*van* is certainly not *vann* as taken by R. Williams and Dr. Evans, for it rhymes with *achlân*, and the rhyme is carried on in the next two lines. It clearly means 'men' or 'people'; it might be from Lat. *manus* in the sense of 'a band or body of men'. But I see no reason to doubt that the Aryan **manu-* (Sanskrit *mánu-s* 'man, mankind') survived in Keltic, since it is found in Germanic. Troude records an old Breton *man* 'homme', which he compares with the German *Mann*; but it cannot be derived from the Germanic since in Germanic the stem is *mann-* (for *manu̯-*, see Kluge s.v. *Mann*); in Welsh the Old Eng. *mann* appears dialectally as *mŏn*, in *hwsmon*, etc. That *mân* 'people' is not used in Medieval or Modern Welsh is no argument against its occurring in this poem, if it is genuine, for obsolete words like *mân* and *caffon* are to be expected, and are fewer in these poems than they would be but for substitutions. The word seems to have survived as an adjective *mân* 'plebeian', as when D. ap Gwilym says that he is not a *gŵr mân* (Pughe, s.v. *mân*), where *mân* can hardly be the adjective 'small' used with pl. nouns, as *cerrig mân*, etc.

achlân. This word, like some other adverbs such as *yrháwg*, preserved its old accentuation in Medieval and Early Modern Welsh, being used commonly by the bards down to the end of the sixteenth century; it means 'wholly, altogether'. In Old Welsh the accent generally fell on the ultima, and the original rhythm and rhyme of such a poem as this may be seen by restoring the accentuation of the rhyming words in such lines as these; thus:—

Llwyfenyð vân | a'th eirch achlân,
Yn un trygân | mawr a bychân.
Taliessin gân | ti ae diðân.

Incidentally also the restoration shows why *vann* is absolutely impossible, as well as Dr. Evans's *trigan(n)* for *trigant*, and generally why a double final cannot rhyme with a single.

Line 23.—*ae*. I leave this unchanged because the old form of the relative was *ae* (Old Welsh *ai*, *hai*); and I leave the initial of *diδan* unmutated because the accusative relative was followed by the radical, as in *E beδeu ae gulich y glav*, B.B. 63, 'the graves *which* the rain wets'. In ordinary Medieval or Modern Welsh the phrase under notice would be *ti a ddiddan* '(it is) thou whom it entertains'.

Line 25.—On this half-line see note on metre above. Probably *wrδlideu* is an error for *evrllideu* 'merits', though a compound *gwrδ* + *llideu* is not impossible. The second element is also found compounded in *delideu* 'merits', which Prydydd y Moch uses in the singular *dlid*, *Myv.* 204. In Breton, "Ce mot ne s'emploie qu'au pluriel *dellidou*, au sens de mérites, terme de dévotion", Troude s.v.

DADOLWCH URYEN.

Ll(euu)*yw*yð echassaf, mi nyw dirmygaf ;
Uryen a gyrchaf, iðaw yt ganaf.
Pan ðêl vy *n*gwaessaf, kynnwys a gaffaf,
A'r parth goreuhaf y dan eilassaf.
Nyt mawr ym dawr by(th gweheleith a welaf)
Nyt af attaðunt, ganthunt ny byðaf :
(n)*R*y chyrchaf (i) Gogleð a(r)*n*mei*t* teyrneð.
Kyn pei am lawer(eð) y gwnelwn (gyngh)wystleð,
Nyt reit ym hoffeð, Uryen nym gomeð.
Ll(o)*w*yfenyð tireð, ys meu eu reufeð
Ys meu ẏ gwyled, ys meu ẏ llareð,
Ys meu ẏ (de)*l*lideu ae gorefrasseu—
Með o vualeu, a da dieisseu
Gan tëyrn goreu, haelaf rygigleu.
Tëyrneð pob ieith yt oll yð ynt geith.
Ragot yt gwynir, ys dir dy oleith.
Kyt ef mynasswn (gweyhelu henwn)
Ny(t oeð) well a g(e)*a*rwn kyn ys gwybyðwn.
Weithon y gwelaf y meint a gaffaf,
Nam*w*yn (y) Duw uchaf nys dioferaf.
Dy tëyrn veibon, haelaf dyneðon,
(wy) Ka(n)*h*an eu (hy)sc(yrr)*ly*von yn tireð (eu) galon.
Ac yny vallwyf, etc.

EULOGY OF URYEN.

Most valiant chief, I will not slight him ;
Uryen I will seek, to him I will sing.
When my warrant comes, welcome shall I receive
And the best place under the chieftain.
I care not much what [bidding I get]
I will not go to them, I will not be with them :
I will repair to the North at the beck of princes.
Though it were for much that I gave a pledge,
I need not reckon it, Uryen will not refuse me.

The lands of Llwyfenydd, mine is their wealth,
Mine is their courtesy, mine is their bounteousness,
Mine are their feasts and their luxuries—
Mead out of horns and good things without stint,
From the best prince, the most generous I have heard of.
The princes of all nations are all thrall to thee:
In thy advance there is wailing, thou must be evaded.
Though I had wished it [?]
There was none I loved better before I knew him;
Now that I see how much I obtain,
I will no more forswear him than the most high God.
Thy princely sons, most generous men,
Get their booty in the lands of their foes.
And until I perish, etc.

Notes on "Dadolwch Uryen".

Translations: Nash in his *Taliesin*, p. 107; R. Williams in *F.A.B.*, i, p. 352: Dr. Evans in II, 95.

Metre.—Lines of ten syllables divided into rhyming half-lines of five, the metre of "Uryen Yrechwydd", see above p. 173. But in this poem three lines, 5, 6, 16, have internal rhyme instead of the half-line rhyme; see note on line 5.

Title.—*Golwch* means 'praise'; and the prefix *dad-* may be in effect merely intensive, as in *dat-gan* 'to declare'. In twelfth century titles *dodolwch* generally means 'reconciliation, propitiation', and is applied to poems addressed to patrons who have been offended; but there is no suggestion of Uryen's displeasure in this poem. It implies that the bard was about to return to him after an absence in Gwynedd.

Line 1.—*Lleuuyδ*, i.e. *Llywyδ*. The spelling in the scribe's copy was probably *Louid*; he misread *Lou-* as *Lleu-*, *ou* being the regular Old Welsh form of Medieval *eu* as well as of *yw* with obscure *y* (see *Gram.*, p. 31); on seeing his mistake he wrote another *u* to make the *u* into double-*u*, i.e. *w*; though not generally used by him two *u*'s might stand for *w*, as in B.B. 2·1; conversely *w* might stand for *uu* (=*vu*) as in *wtic* for *vuδic* B.B. 83·11, *wt* for *vuδ* do. 86·3. As the scribe himself sometimes uses *e* for *y* (see above p. 126), he left the *e* uncorrected. Dr. Evans (like Nash) guessed *Llywyδ* 'chief'; but as he cannot postulate an Old Welsh original he has no explanation to offer of the curious spelling, which he finds it convenient to ignore.

echassaf. The prefix is probably *ech-*; and *echas* seems to bear the same relation to *dias*, as *ehofn* (*echofn*) does to *diofn* 'fearless' and

apparently the root idea is similar in both pairs. *Dias* seems to be an adjective in *glew dias dinas e lu ovnawc* B.A. 10·8 'bold, fearless, [he was] a stronghold to a timid host' and a noun in *dinas y* δ*ias* do. 15·4 'a stronghold [was] his valour'; *am-*δ*ias* and *diasse*δ are adjectives, used with *gwrhyd* 'manliness' and *greid* 'courage' (Breton *gret* 'courage', Troude, s.v.), as *gwrhyt am*δ*ias* B.A. 1·2, *gwrhyt diasse*δ B.T. 59·8, *greid am-*δ*ias*, *Myv* 145 a 3. Hence I take the superlative *echassaf* to mean 'most valiant'. It cannot well be from *cas*, for from *c-* only *ach-* is possible (and *achas* exists), which can become *ech-* only before *i* or *y*. The previous renderings of these opening words of the poem, based upon the mistaken derivation from *cas*, are—

Though the chief is angry.—Nash.
The lion will be most implacable.—R. Williams.
The Chief I do not dislike.—Dr. Evans.

Line 3.—*kynnwys* 'admission' rendered correctly by R. Williams; see Silvan Evans, s.v. But *cynnwys* is something more than mere 'admission'; it is still used dialectally in Gwynedd for 'welcome admission, encouragement'.

Line 4.—*eilassaf* 'chieftain'. Cf. *Hywel haelaf, vaur eilassaw, gorescynhwy* B.B. 76.7 (final *-aw* = *af*); *men y*δ *ynt eilyassaf (e)lein* B.A. 14·14 'where the chieftain's blades are'; *dor angor be*δ*in, bu*δ *eilyassaf* do. 15·5 'the door, the anchor of an army, victorious chief'; *llu eilassaf* B.T. 64·22, context obscure, possibly 'chief of a host'.

Line 5.—As it stands the line means 'Not much do I care ever for the race that I see'. *Byth* 'ever' comes in awkwardly, and seems to be the scribe's guess, to rhyme with his *gwehelyth* (which, however, he spells *gweheleith*; cf. *gwehelieith*, *F.A.B.*, ii, p. 225). The original word may have been either *pi*, Medieval *py*, *by* 'what', or *pet* 'how many'. The next word I take to have been *guahaud*, which the scribe read *guahalid*, and understood as *gwehelyth*, which makes the line too long. The mistake of reading *u* as *li* is the converse of the error of reading *li* as *n*, which we have come across more than once; with *d* for *th* he would be familiar; also with the vocalism of the supposed *guahalid*, with which cf. *Ligualid* above, p. 58. I cannot explain *welaf* except as the scribe's substitution for *gaffaf* or *gahaf*, which made no sense with his misreadings. I take the original line to have been—

Nyt mawr ym dawr by gwahawδ a gaffaf,

to be rendered as above. The line has internal rhyme, and therefore was not necessarily divided into two fives; *dawr* forms a good rhyme with *gwahaw*δ: and the line is of the right length.

Byth is most readily explained as derived from Irish; but as it is

found in Cornish and Breton also such derivation is doubtful, though as British its formation is obscure; see Thurneysen's *Alt-Irischen Gram.*, p. 222. As, however, it is probably a late insertion here, the date of the poem is not affected.

Line 7.—*armeiteyrned*, so joined in the MS., as if the scribe had run on from the final *t* of *-meit* to the initial *t* of *teyrneδ*. The most probable reading seems to be *anmeit* 'nod, beck'; Old Welsh plural *enmeituou*, gloss on "per nutus". In the later language metathesis took place, and the word is now *amnaid*. With *anmeit teyrneδ* cf. *deorum nutu*, Cicero, Cat. iii, 9, 21.

Line 8.—*lawereδ*.—The *-eδ* was added by the scribe because he did not see that the *-er* of *lawer* formed a good rhyme with the *-eδ* of *wystleδ*.

Line 9.—*hoffeδ*. The original meaning of *hoffi* seems to be 'to value, appreciate', etc., from which the modern 'to like' is naturally derived (cf. Eng. *dear* 'precious; loved'). The proverb *Hanner y wledd hoffedd yw* means 'Half the feast is the appreciation of it' (not "is fondness", as Pughe renders it). *Tripheth a hoffa kerδ*, Red Book, col. 1141, 'three things that give value to a song'. *Gor-hoffeδ* R. B. Bruts 215 'boasting' (cf. Eng. *over-weening*), whence sometimes *hoffeδ* 'boast'. Here, however, the word is used in its primary sense of 'setting a value upon'.

Line 12.—*delideu*. There seems to be no foundation for Pughe's 'hard substance; metal', except his silly derivation of the word from *dèl* which he renders "obdurate". Here it makes the line too long, and seems to be a compound (cf. *dilideu* 'feasts', *Myv.* 144 a 27) substituted for the archaic uncompounded *llideu* 'feasts', pl. of *llid*, which survives in Breton as *lid* 'feast', pl. *lidou*; the exact phonetic equivalent appears in Old Irish as *līth* 'feast'. The same substitution as the above occurs in our text in 19·8; thus,

Gwneynt eu peiron a verwynt heb tân,
Gwneynt eu (de)*l*lideu yn oes oesseu.

'They make their cauldrons which boil without fire,
They make their feasts for ever.'

gorefrasseu, apparently 'superfluities, luxuries'. It is difficult to fix the meaning of *efras*, but it seems to denote 'resource' of power or wealth: *ys evras gwrth* (read *gwrδ*) 'he is mighty of resource', *F.A.B.*, ii, 271; the *efras* of the white town by the wood is ever 'her blood on the face of her grass', do. 285; *llew lluch efras* 'lion of impetuous might', Gwalchmei, *Myv.* 144b; *gwr gwrδ i evreis* 'man of mighty resources', do., ib. 143b; *evras cad* 'fighting force', Prydydd y Moch, ib. 212b; *Pedyr per y evras* 227a; cf. 152 a, b, B.B. 86·8. In the only medieval example of *gorevras* known to me it seems to be

newly compounded: *Gwr gorevras, gwas gwenwyn*, Cynddelw, *Myv.* 184a, '(he was) a man of great might, a youth of virulence'.

Line 15.—*ieith* 'nation' so used as late as the fifteenth century; see an example in a couplet by Gutun Owain in my *Gram.*, p. 34.

Line 16.—*goleith.* All the lexicographers have gone wrong in taking this to be a compound of *lleith* 'death'. Mr. Williams has seen that it means 'to avoid, evade, elude'. Pughe's examples are *Dywal dir fydd ei olaith*, which he renders "The death of the fierce is certain", though it obviously means 'The fierce must be avoided', and *Ni ellid ei olaith*, which he renders "he could not be slain", instead of 'there was no escape from him'. A good example is *Ny oleith lleith yr llyfyrder* 'he will not shirk death from cowardice', Cynddelw, *Myv.* 176a, Strachan, *Intr.* 233. *Anoleith* 'inevitable' (not "deathful" as given by Silvan Evans): *lleith anoleith* 'inevitable death', B.T. 15·13, Prydydd y Moch, *Myv.* 211 b 4.

Line 17.—*gweyhelu henwn.* This half-line is obviously corrupt, and I am unable to suggest any satisfactory emendation.

Line 18.—*Nyt oeδ well*; the *oeδ* is superflous; the reading might be *Nyt gwell* or *Ny well*; cf. *Na well*, W.B.M. c. 84.

gerwn, scribal error for *garwn.*

kyn ys gwybyδwn: *kyn* 'before', *Gram.* 446. The distinction between *gwybod* 'savoir' and *adnabod* 'connaître' goes back to British, for it is found in Breton as well as in Welsh; but *ad-nabod* is literally 'to recognise, to *be* acquainted with'; and as *gŵyδ* still means 'presence' it is possible that **gwyδbod* might be used in Early Welsh for 'meeting' or '*making* the acquaintance of', which is the sense required here (as its Greek cognate εἶδον might be used for 'seeing' a person in the sense of 'meeting' him). The meaning of the sentence can hardly be doubtful, and the use of *gwybyδwn* points to an antiquity well beyond the middle ages.

Line 19.—The article is hardly ever found before *weithon* (=*weith hon*) in Medieval Welsh; and its regular omission (while *y prytwn, y wershon*, etc., are never without it) may be a survival from the period when the article was not essential before the demonstrative *hwn, hon.*

Line 20.—The scribe inserted *y*, which makes the line too long, because *namyn* meant nothing to him but 'except'; he took the phrase to mean 'except *for* the most high God', a reservation which weakens the declaration for no intelligible purpose. The meaning is clearly 'I will no more forswear Uryen than I will forswear the most high God'. *Namuy(n)* is literally 'not more': it was used, like its Irish cognate *nammā* in the sense of 'only' to strengthen a word meaning 'but'; thus Irish *acht . . . nammā* 'but . . . only', Old Welsh *honit nammui* 'but only'; in Welsh the word for 'but' came to be omitted, and *namwyn* itself was used for 'but' (cf. the collo-

quial use of *only* for 'but' in English). In the Shirburn Brut it occurs as 'only' after *nyt* in the passage of Lludd corresponding to W.B.M., c. 192·21: *nyt na mwy* 'not only' (I. Williams, *Lludd a Llevelys*, p. 18; in the W.B. wrongly copied *nyt mwy*). In Medieval Welsh *namwyn* has no other meaning; in Old Welsh it occurs as an adverb qualifying 'but', and as 'but' itself, Book of Llan Daf, p. 120, and apparently 'only', do. p. xliii; and its use here in its literal and etymological sense of 'not more', with a dependent genitive of comparison *Duw uchaf* 'than the most high God', which was unintelligible to the medieval scribe, takes the phrase back beyond the Old Welsh period.

dioferaf is the verb of which the verbal noun is *diofryd*, as the verbal noun of *cymeraf* is *cymryd*, of *differaf* is *diffryd*, of *adferaf* is *edfryd*, of *gochelaf* is *gochlyd* (*Gram.*, p. 391). This well-known survival of Aryan vowel-gradation in Welsh was unknown to Dr. Evans, who "amends" *dioferaf* into "diovr*yd*af", II, 96.

Line 22.—Medieval *ysclyvon* would be written *sclimon* in Old Welsh (cf. *Gr.* 159, ll. 17-8): and we have here another proof that *l* was short in the scribe's copy. He read the *l* as *i*, and the four strokes of *im* as *rr*.

It is probable that some lines are missing at the end of this song.

It has been seen in the notes that there is a considerable amount of evidence that the above three songs to Urien have been copied from a manuscript in a flat-topped hand of the ninth century, and many grammatical and etymological indications of the matter being still older. It does not seem to me to be necessary to argue that the Urien in whose honour they were written is the Urien of history. They have all the appearance of having been composed to be sung in his presence. He is referred to promiscuously in the second and third person. The singer addresses him as "thou", and, addressing the company, speaks of him as "he". Is this also a piece of ninth century realism?

I subjoin the elegy on Owein son of Uryen 67·18, referred to at some length above, pp. 87 ff.

MARWNAT OWEIN.

Eneit Owein ap Uryen,
gobwyllit (y) R*ee*n oe reit.
Reget uꝺ ae cuꝺ tromlas—
nyt oeꝺ vas ẏ gywydeit.
Iscell *pryt*, kerꝺ glyt clotvawr;
escyll g*w*awr, gwaywawr llifeit,
Cany cheffir kystedlyꝺ
ẏ uꝺ lleweny ꝺ llat*h*reit.
Medel galon, geveilat—
eissylut y tat ae teit.
Pan laꝺawꝺ Owein Fflamꝺwyn,
nyt oeꝺ vwy noc et kysceit.
Kyscit Lloeg(y)r llydan nifer,
a *l*leuver yn eu llygeit;
A rei ny ffoynt hayach
a oeꝺynt *hya*ch no reit.
Owein ae cospes yn ꝺrut,
mal cnut yn dylut deveit.
Gŵr gwiw uch ẏ amliw seirch,
a roꝺei veirch ẏ eircheit.
Ky*n*(t) as cronyei mal calet,
(n)*r*y rannet rac ẏ eneit.
Eneit O*wein* ap Uryen,
gobwyllit Reen oe reit.

THE DEATHSONG OF OWEIN.

The soul of Owein ap Uryen,
may the Lord have regard to its need.
Rheged's prince, whom the heavy sward covers,
not shallow was his judgement.
At supper time [he heard] the acclaiming song of praise,
with the wings of dawn [he hurled] the whetted spears,
For no peer is to be found
to the prince of radiant cheer.
Reaper of enemies, captor—
heir of his father and forebears.
When Owein killed Fflamꝺwyn,
it was no greater [feat] than sleeping.
The wide host of Lloegr sleep
with the light in their eyes;
And those that fled not amain
were bolder than [they had] need [to be].

Owein punished them grievously
like a pack [of wolves] chasing sheep.
A fine man [was he] above his many-coloured trappings,
who gave horses to [his] suitors.
Before he would lay up a hoard like a miser,
it was distributed for his soul.
The soul of Owein ap Uryen,
may the Lord have regard to its need.

Notes on "Marwnat Owein".

Translations: Nash, *Taliesin*, 108; R. Williams, *F.A.B.*, i, 366; Dr. Evans, II, 125, on which see above, pp. 87-90.

Metre. The metre is "awdl gywydd" (*Dosp. Ed.*, p. lxvii). The unit is a line of fourteen syllables divided into two half-lines of seven; the last syllable of the first half-line rhymes with any final syllable from the second to the fifth of the second half-line; in some cases it rhymes with *two* words in the latter, as *clotvawr* l. 5, with *gwawr* and *gwaewawr* in l. 6, and *drut* l. 17 with *cnut* and *dylut* l. 18. The end of the full line rhymes throughout; in this poem the rhyme is *-eit.* The line is now regarded as a couplet, and the half-lines as lines; and I have so numbered them above. The metre was rarely used by the cynghanedd poets, who preferred the ordinary cywydd: there is an example by Dafydd ab Edmwnd in Peniarth MS. 77, p. 392, beginning—

Llawenaf lle o Wynedd
Yw llys medd a llysiau Môn.

But stanzas of three couplets of the metre became later one of the favourite forms of penillion to sing to the harp; a good example is Lewis Morris's "Caniad y Gog i Feirionydd", of which one stanza may be quoted:

Annwyl yw gan adar b*yd*
Eu rhyddid h*yd* y coedydd;
Annwyl yw gan faban l*aeth*
Ei fam*aeth* odi*aeth* ddedwydd;
O! ni ddwedwn yn fy m*yw*
Mor annwyl *yw* Meirionydd.

The oldest extant poem of Meilyr, the earliest historical medieval bard, is in this metre, *Myv.* 142a; it was composed at Mynydd Carn in 1081. Some of the oldest Irish poetry is written in stanzas of four half-lines of seven syllables each. Sanctan's hymn, *Irische Texte*, i, 49, which contains a comparatively large number of obscure passages, is in that metre; it is attributed to the Briton Sanctān, who is said to be the son of Samuil Pennissel (*Lives of Brit. Saints,*

iv, 175), son of Pabo, third in descent from Ceneu ab Coel (ib., iv, 38); the author would therefore be a contemporary and kinsman of Owein ap Uryen. The internal rhyme of the "awdl gywydd" occurs in the early Latin hymns. Kuno Meyer (*Primer of Irish Metrics*, p. 9) quotes as an example:

Conclamantes Deo d*ignum* h*ymnum* sanctae Mariae.
ut vox pulset omnem *aurem* per l*audem* vicariam.

There is thus no reason at all to doubt that the metre is as old as the late sixth century; both the rhyme-system and the length and division of lines are probably much older.

Line 1.—*ap*. In Medieval Welsh generally this is written *vab*, but the *v* had already disappeared in the twelfth century, e.g. *Owein ab Urien*, B.B. 64·7. In the scribe's copy the form would doubtless be *map*.

Line 2,—*gobwyllit*: the *o* was begun as *6*, i.e. *w*, by the scribe, which shows that this poem also was copied from a MS. in Old Welsh orthography, in which the prefix *go-* is always written *guo-*. Dr. Evans notes the error, but has nothing to say about it.

On lines 1 and 2 see above pp. 87-8.

Line 3.—*ae* is the old form of the relative, which when accusative was followed by the radical initial of the verb; see note on line 23 of "Yng Ngorffowys" above, p. 180.

tromlas 'heavy green' occurs as an adjective in 54·20 qualifying *cadwyn* 'chain', the phrase denoting the prison of earth, the grave.

cywydeit, derivative in *-eit* (v.n. ending, cf. *gorδyfneit, synnyeit*) of *cywyd* 'mind', written *kyvid* in B.B. 76·13, where final *-d*=*d* (not δ).

Line 5.—This line is a syllable short in the MS. The expression *kerδ glyt clotvawr* (read *glotvawr*) is complete, and *kerδeu clyt* is not a probable emendation. The missing word therefore probably came after *Iscell*; and the internal rhyme of line 3 suggests that it rhymed with *clyt*; the word *pryt* fulfils this condition, and exactly fills the gap in the sense; see below.

Iscell, according to Richards, is 'broth, pottage, gruel, supping'; the English *sup* is literally 'to imbibe', and is allied to *soup*; one might *sup*, or partake of *iscell*, at any hour, but as *supper* in Eng. has come to denote the last meal, so the time κατ' ἐξοχήν for *iscell* was the evening; thus *pryt* 'time' is required to bring out the contrast with 'dawn' in the next line.

kerδ glyt. This *clyt* has nothing to do with *clyd* 'sheltered' (which is from **klit-* originally **kl̥t-*, root **kel-* 'cover'), but comes from the genitive **klutī* of the neuter noun whose nom.-acc. sg. was **klutóm*, which has given Welsh *clod;* the root is **kleu-* 'hear'. Briefly, the old genitive of *clod* survived in the expression *cerdd glyd*,

which was still used in the twelfth century, e.g. by Cynddelw in *Myv.* 190a quoted above, p. 98 fn. It occurs in the late part of "Anrec Urien": *Ef a δaw byt ny byδ kerδ glyt, ny byδ kelvyδ*, *F.A.B.*, ii, 292, *Y Cym.*, vii, 125, 'A time will come when there will be no song of praise, when there will be no accomplished (singer)'.

Line 6.—This line is linked to the preceding by the "cymeriad cynganeddol" *iscell* / *escyll*, rendering the reading of the two words certain, and disproving the ignorant "emendation" of II, 124.

escyll gawr should undoubtedly be *esgyll gwawr*, for the words occur in 42·13 in the same connexion: *glessynt escyll gwawr, escorynt (wy) waywawr* 'the wings of dawn became grey, they brought forth spears'.

llifeit 'whetted'; a whetstone is still called *maen llifo* in North Wales.

Line 9.—*Medel* is usually a feminine noun (*y fedel*) meaning, like its Irish cognate *methel*, 'a company of reapers'; but it seems also to have been a masculine noun in Welsh, meaning 'a reaper', e.g. *y medel* B.B. 45·9; in this sense it has been replaced by *medelwr*. Cf. *medel e alon*, B.A. 26·15, 'reaper of his enemies'.

gefeilat is the derivative in -*(i)ad* of *gafael* 'to seize'; this ending, when it affects the stem-vowels, as here, denotes the agent; see p. 98 fn. The word therefore means 'seizer, captor'.

Line 10.—On *teit* 'ancestors' see my *Gram.* p. 219. The bard is thinking, not of Owein's "grandsire" (II, 125), but of his ancestors, Ceneu and Coel.

Line 11.—Nash renders this line "When Fflamddwyn slew Owain", with a footnote stating that "The ordinary construction would give 'When Owein slew Fflamdwyn'. But in an elegy on Owain the circumstances of his death are more naturally mentioned [why "more naturally" than the exploits of his life ?]; and the reading renders the following lines more intelligible," *Tal.*, p. 109. By the "following lines" he means l. 12, which he completely misunderstood. How it is "more intelligible" that "following" his death Owein should punish his enemies, Nash does not say; the poet is of course continuing his account of Owein's prowess. R. Williams adopts Nash's rendering, and we are assured in a note (ii, 418) that this "is the natural construction". Professor Powel observes that "if by 'natural' is meant 'in accordance with Welsh usage', then the assertion cannot be accepted"; it is, in fact, the exact reverse of the truth. In a direct statement, a noun object *may* precede the noun subject, as *Dygystuδ deuruδ dagreu, F.A.B.*, ii, 282, 'tears afflict the cheeks'; but this is very rare, and in a dependent clause such an inversion is hardly to be found. The order is subject object; as *Ac velly y kavas Kulhwch Olwen*, R.B.M. 143, 'And

[it was] so that Kulhwch won Olwen'. Carnhuanawc and Stephens understood the line in its natural sense, 'When Owein killed Fflamddwyn', see Professor Powel's note in *The Gododin*, p. 69. On Dr. Evans's mistranslation, see above, p. 90.

Line 12.—This line appears to be correct, for the "cymeriad" *kyscit* in the next line makes the reading *kysceit* practically certain. It means literally 'it was no more than sleeping', which means, I suppose, that it required no greater effort on the part of Owein.

noc et is usually written *noget* or *nogyt* in Medieval Welsh. The *et* is an extension also found in Breton *eget* 'than', Cornish *ages*. The *n-* in Welsh is the old ending of the comparative tacked on to the original *oc* 'than': see my *Gram.* pp. 243, 447.

The early modern prosodists allowed an initial consonant to be brought forward to the end of a preceding word to form a rhyme, which was called *odl gudd* 'hidden rhyme'; thus, *wy'* followed by *lawen* could rhyme with *hwyl* (J. D. Rhys, 1592, p. 284; in reproducing information supplied to him J.D.R. completely misses the point, and thinks that the words *wy' lawen* actually are *wyl awen*, which would form an ordinary, not a "hidden" rhyme). *Fflamδwyn* and *vwy n-* form an "odl gudd"; but it is unthinkable that the author of this poem dreamt of such a thing; "odl gudd" is a comparatively late device—I cannot recollect even a medieval example of it. To the author *vwy* here was clearly *vwyn*, and probably 'than' was *ocet*. The Irish forms suggest that *mwy* comes from **māiōs*; I have suggested a doublet **māison*, formed with the ordinary British comparative ending (=Gk. ιων), as the origin of *mwyn* (*Gram.* 98). Even if that be not so, *mwyn* must have been formed at an early period on the analogy of other comparatives, for its existence is proved by *namwyn* by the side of *namwy*, of which the former alone survived, and became *namyn*; in this the *n* cannot come from *no*, for *no* 'than' is not used after it; see note on l. 20 of the last poem, p. 185. All this goes to prove that this couplet was written before the Old Welsh period when *mwyn* was already obsolete.

Line 15.—*hayach* with the negative usually means in Medieval Welsh 'not much; hardly at all'; here it must mean 'actively' or 'energetically', a more primitive sense from the root **segh-*; cf. Skr. *sáha-s* 'mighty', etc., *sáhasā* '(forcibly), suddenly, precipitately'.

Line 16.—The last word on p. 67 of the MS. is *oeδynt*; a piece of the top corner of the leaf has been torn off, so that only *ch* remains of the first word on p. 68; there is a dot before it, which represents the bottom of the *a*; the rhyme proves that the word ended in *-ach*. There is room for only three letters before *ch*; I have measured *hy* in lines 20 and 21, and find that their width with that of *a* fits the space exactly. It appears to me that *hyach* fits the sense exactly too.

Line 21.—*Kyt* is a conjunction proper, followed immediately by the verb, as *kyt tybyckych, . . kyt keffych* W.B.M., c. 480; the *as* which separates it from the verb here could therefore only be the infixed objective pronoun of the 3rd sg. or pl. The only possible antecedent is *meirch* 'horses'; but *cronni* 'to hoard' is hardly a word that would have been used of horses. (The singular infixed pron. after *kyt* is *ef* in "Dadolwch Uryen", l. 17, see above, p. 181.) But we have seen in "Gweith Argoet Llwyfein", l. 12, p. 156 above, that *kyn as* was used with the imperfect for 'before (he would)' in the sense of 'rather than', where *as* cannot be an infixed pron., and seems to be a conjunction 'that'. I take the construction here to be the same. In an ordinary temporal clause, with the aor. or pres. subj, no conjunction follows *cyn* (Gr. 446). It occurs with inf. pron. *ys* in "Dadolwch Uryen", l. 18, p. 181 above.

calet 'hard'; as a noun it has two meanings: (1) 'hard fight', e.g. B.B. 65·13, B.A. 20·21.—(2) 'hard man', in the sense of Matt. xxv, 24. I have rendered it 'miser' although a line in one of the "Englynion Eiry Mynydd", *Myv.* 358a, tells us that

Nid cybydd yw pob caled.
'Every hard man is not a miser.'

Line 22.—*ry*, which the scribe stupidly copied as the negative *ny* is the perfective particle, which is positive and emphatic. The impersonal *rannet* has no expressed object; it means 'there was a distributing'. On *rac y eneit* see above p. 89.

The last word of the poem repeats the first. This became a rule in Irish poetry: "The concluding word of every poem must repeat either the whole or part of the first word (or first stressed word) of the poem," Kuno Meyer, op. cit., p. 12. The object is to provide a catchword to lead back to the beginning, so as to end the poem with the couplet or stanza with which it begins. The word *eneit* at the end of our poem forms a "cymeriad" with the *Eneit* of the first line which is therefore to follow it, as *Kyscit* of l. 13 follows *kysceit* of l. 12; see notes on "cymeriad" above, pp. 176-7. The scribe writes only the beginning of the couplet which is to be repeated; see examples of abbreviated first line, or merely first words, repeated with "cymeriad" in B.B. 36·10, 70·11. There are many examples in the oldest Irish poems; e.g. Ultan's Hymn, which begins *Brigit be bithmaith*, ends *ron soera Brigit*, which is followed in the MS. by *Brigit bé*; see *Ir. Texte*, i, 25. As the form of "cymeriad" on which the repetition of the first word is based is a distinctive feature of Welsh verse, frequently occuring as a link between lines in the middle of a poem (e.g. in "Yng Ngorffowys" above), it seems probable that the device was borrowed by the Irish bards from the British. In Welsh

we also have the repetition of opening lines without "cymeriad", as in B.B. 24·8, 71·11, which shows that the "cymeriad" was not the essential feature it became in Irish, but only a help to secure the repetition to the first lines.

Line 23.—The abbreviated first line appears thus in the MS.: Eneit. O. ap vryen. Thus the reading which Dr. Evans asserts to be "impossible" is repeated and confirmed, a fact which he passes over in silence.

The subject of this poem is not the Owein ap Uryen of the medieval imagination, Knight of the Round Table, hero of the tale of "the Lady of the Fountain", the "Chevalier au Lyon" of Chrestien de Troyes, the Ywain of "Ywain and Gawain", but the historical Owein ap Uryen who fought with his father against the sons of Ida in the latter half of the sixth century. He is seen not in the glamour of romance, not even through the haze of a century or two, but as the real prince of Rheged by a man who knew him, and loved him. Such idealization as the poem contains consists in that heightening of the actual which is expected and taken for granted in an elegy. I believe that the impression which the reading of the poem will leave on most readers is that it breathes an intimacy which could hardly be simulated in a production founded on hearsay or tradition.

It is interesting to note the comment on this poem which a fifteenth century bard has written on the top margin of p. 68:

goreu ynghymry o gerdd taliessin benn be*irdd*

'The best in Wales of the work of Taliessin, Chief of Bards.'

This opinion is no doubt chiefly based on the form; the poem is an exquisite example of a metre that was still in use; the requirements of the rhyme are more than met, one "prif-odl" or "chief-rhyme" binds the couplets together into a single whole, and the "cymeriad" at the end introduces the opening couplet which serves as a most effective conclusion. But apart from the form, which is

not more elaborate than, in its way, that of "Yng Ngorffowys", the matter of this poem seems to indicate that it is the work of a man of maturer years. This accords with the view that the poems are genuine, for an elegy on Owein would naturally have been written a good many years later than songs to his father.[1]

What has been said above of the Owein of the elegy is also true of the Urien of the songs. He is not a medieval Sir Uryance, or even a traditional hero, but the veritable living Urien, Prince of Rheged. That the sense of actuality which, despite all hyperbole, the songs undoubtedly convey, in the description of Urien as a present terror to the Angles and a personality that commands the respect of those around him, in the expression of the bard's personal obligation to him, in the account of the good things of Llwyfenydd in which he himself participates,—that this can have been simulated in the ninth century does not appear to be altogether probable; but Voltaire has said that "it is ever to the improbable that the sceptic is ready to give ear".

An old tradition connects Taliesin with Llyn Geirionnydd situated above the Conway valley about two miles west of Llanrwst. Medieval evidence of the tradition is found in one of the lines added at the end of "Anrec Uryen" (*Y Cymmrodor*, vii, p. 126):

minen dalyessin o (iawn) *lann*[2] llyn geirionnyd
'And I, Talyessin, from the bank of Llyn Geirionnydd.'

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[1] We expect a palaeographer to take some notice of interesting marginalia; in this case, for example, he *might* be able to tell us in whose hand the note is written. But Dr. Evans simply ignores it. The reason is, of course, that it conveys nothing to him: he has no knowledge of metres, and the poem as mangled by him is rather a poor thing.

[2] It is very unlikely that *iawn* here is anything but *lann* misread as *iaun*, which was the spelling of *iawn* down to the end of the twelfth century.

He would thus have been brought up in the purlieus of the court of Maelgwn at Degannwy. This is quite in accordance with his position in the songs. At the court of Urien he was a visitor. Doubtless his stay was prolonged, for he was provided with a fine home. But he leaves and comes again. "I will repair to the North", he says in "Dadolwch Uryen", a song which might well have been entitled "Urien Revisited."

There are several other historical poems in the Book of Taliesin, all more difficult than the above, but not therefore *less* likely to be genuine. The other poems to Urien are the following: (1) "Ar un blyneð", p. 59, in which the reference to him "with his horse under him at the battle of Mynaw (Goðeu)", see above, p. 73, comes in rather incoherently, and is followed by a number of mysterious lines, ending with a description of Urien's prowess.—(2) "Arðwyre Reget rysseð rieu", p. 61, which contains the reference to Ulph, and to Urien coming to Aeron; there are many other historical allusions in the poem, including a list of Urien's battles.—(3) "Yspeil Taliessin", p. 62; some inserted glosses in the first part of this are noted above, pp. 140-1. It refers to Urien as a "defender in Aeron", 63·5, and contains a more picturesquely figurative description of Urien that anything contained in the poems translated above; but its difficulties are formidable.

"Anrec Uryen", which has been referred to several times in the above pages, does not appear in the Book of Taliesin, but is found in the detached portion of the White Book (*Y Cymmrodor*, vii, 125), and in the Red Book, col. 1049 (*F.A.B.*, ii, 291). Stephens saw that the poem consists of three unrelated parts; of these he considered the first and third genuine, the second late (*Arch. Camb.*, 1851, pp. 204 ff.). Skene, who misrepresents Stephens by

ignoring his clear-sighted analysis of the poem and speaking of his view of the second part as if it applied to the whole, attempts to prove that the whole is old (*F.A.B.*, i, 211-4); but Stephens is undoubtedly right in his view as to the second part. This is of the same character as the medieval predictive poems; and, as Stephens observes, no poem that can be attributed to Taliesin "assumes the predictive form" (op. cit., p. 210). The first and second parts are in the "rhupunt" metre, which consists of lines of twelve syllables divided into three fours, of which the first two usually rhyme together and the third carries the "chief-rhyme". In both of these parts the chief-rhyme is *-yδ* throughout, with the variant *-yr* once (at the end of the first part according to Stephens's division); this identity of rhyme provides a sufficient reason for their having been run together, without the assumption that the second was deliberately composed as an addition to the first, to which it bears no relation. The first part deals with Urien, and with Ieuaf, Keneu and Seleu, whom Skene takes to be the sons of Llywarch Hen, p. 212. The third part, which has nothing to do with the others, consists of tags. The first of these is the well-known assertion of Urien's preeminence, which, with two emendations noted below, reads as follows in the W.B.:

Uryen o Reget, haelaf yssyð,
Ac a vu yr Aðaf, ac a vyð[1];
Lletaf ỳ gleð*yf*,[2] balch y gynteð,
Or tri thëyrn ar ðec or Gogleð.

Uryen of Rheged, most generous that is,
That has been since Adam, and that will be;
Of broadest sword—proud in his hall—
Of the thirteen princes of the North.'

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[1] *ac a vyδ* comes after *haelaf yssyδ* in the MS., an obvious displacement.

[2] *gleδ* in the MS., which makes the line short (the metre is "cyhydedd naw ban"). The form *cleδ* is an artificial curtailment of

This was followed by "whose name I know, Aneirin Gwawdrydd the poet, and I, Taliessin," etc., as above, p. 194, which seems to be a nonsensical couplet framed by a scribe out of a misunderstanding of a previous copyist's statement that he did *not* know the name of the poet, whether it was Aneirin or Taliesin. Lastly comes the defective copy of the *yny vallwyf* tag, quoted above, p. 155.

There are references to Urien in other poems. "Teithi etmygant", p. 41, contains the following line, 42·6:

A thraw y Dygen meu molawt Uryen.
'And beyond Dygen mine is the praise of Uryen.'

Perhaps Maelgwn's kingdom extended as far as Dygen on the present English border, and "beyond Dygen" meant beyond his boundaries. In "Golychafi gulwyð", p. 33, the poet says that he sang before Brochvael of Powys and before Urien, 33·6:

Keint rac uð clotleu yn doleu Hafren,
Rac Brochvael Powys a garwys vy awen;
Keint yn aðvwyn rodle ymore rac Uryen.

'I sang before a famous prince in the meadows of the Severn,
Before Brochvael of Powys who loved my muse;
I sang on a fair lawn on a morning before Uryen.'

This poem is a curious medley of mythology and reminiscence. Preceding the above lines is the statement "I sang before the sons of Llyr at Aber[1] Henvelen," 33·3. Lower

the word, adopted by medieval and later bards, but never used in ordinary speech. The *e* of *cleddyf* is an *a* affected by the *y* of *-yf;* without *-yf* the word would have been *claδ*. Thus *cleδ* is as if one had deduced *plent* from *plentyn*. It cannot be much older than the MS., but the metre shows that the original word was *cleδyf*.

[1] *Ebyr* in the text seems to be an oblique case of *aber* rather than the pl. The reference appears to be to a version of the "Ysbyddawt Urddawl Ben" story which differed somewhat from that preserved in "Branwen", in which the feast was not *at* Aber Henvelen itself; see W.B.M., c. 57, where also it is stated that Taliesin was present, a detail evidently borrowed from this poem.

down, following some lines which appear to be later interpolations, comes the famous passage about the release of Elphin, 33·19:

> Doðwyf Deganhwy ý amrysson
> A Maelgwn vwyhaf y achwysson;
> Elly*n*geis vy arglwyð *yng n*gwyð deon,
> Elphin pendefic ryhodigyon.

> 'I came to Deganhwy to contend
> With Maelgwn of greatest prerogatives;
> I set free my lord in the presence of goodmen,
> Elphin, chief of nobles.'

This is followed immediately by the statement "I was in the battle of Goðeu with Lleu and Gwydion . . . I was with Brân in Ireland," 33·23. The poem ends with the charming glimpse of the Keltic other-world of which Rhys has given a substantially correct[1] translation in his *Celtic Folklore*, p. 678. It is to be noted that all the historical personages named in the poem are the contemporaries of the historical Taliesin.

"Kychwedyl am doðyw", p. 38, treats of the cattle-raids and battles of Owein. "When he returned to Erechwyð[2] from the land of the Clydemen, not a cow lowed to her calf", 38·21. The poem raises many interesting questions. Who, for example, is the Mabon mentioned in it? In Roman times Deus Maponus was the Apollo of Rheged; three inscriptions in his honour have been discovered, at Ribchester, Ainstable and Hexham respectively (*C.I.L.*, vii, nos. 218, 332, 1345). One statement about Mabon in the poem is intelligible: "Unless they were

[1] In spite of Dr. Evans's sneers, p. 94, which can harm no one but himself.

[2] The reading in the MS. is *Pan ymchoeles echwyð*,' I have suggested above, p. 69, that *echwyð* here may be an error. We have seen above, p. 164, that the present was used in a past sense after *pan*; hence, *pan ymchoeles echwyð* may well be an error for *pan ymchoel erechwyð*, as *s* and *r* might be confused in the old script.

to fly with wings they could not escape from Mabon without slaughter", 39·3. Is Mabon a complimentary term applied to Owein? Or had he a brother who had been called after the local god? In the tales, Mabon is the son of Modron (e.g. R.B.M. 124); and according to Triad i, 52, Modron was the name of Owein's mother (*Myv.* 392). But the problems of the text have to be solved before questions relating to the subject-matter can be answered.

"En enw Gwledic Nef goludawc", p. 29, and "En enw Gwledic Nef gorchorðyon", p. 63, are songs to Gwallawc, who was, like Urien's father, third in descent from Ceneu ap Coel (*Y Cymmrodor* ix, 173). The first poem consists in great part of a list of his battles; both are very difficult, owing largely, as in other cases, to a corrupt text, as *ny golychaf an gnawt*, 64·2, shows, see above, p. 138; it contains old forms such as the subjunctive *gwnech*, and was obviously only very imperfectly understood by the scribe.

"Trawsganu Kynan Garwyn", p. 45, has been dealt with above, pp. 133-4, as a poem that contains a goodly number of words in Old Welsh spelling. I have also shown, p. 95, that Cynan Garwyn and his father Brochvael Powys must have been contemporaries of Taliesin. They are descended from Cadell Ddyrnllug[1]; see the pedigree in *Y Cymmrodor* ix, 179; and "the line of Cadelling,[2] i.e. of the

[1] This was made by late copyists into *Teyrnllwg*; in the pedigree it is spelt *dunlurc.* but elsewhere in the MS., in Nennius § 35. correctly *durnluc*; see Mr. Phillimore's notes in *Y Cymmrodor*, vii, 119, ix, 179. Late Welsh writers could not leave *d-rn* in any name without changing it to *deyrn*: as in *Edeyrn* for *Edern* or *Edyrn*, and *Edeyrnion* for *Edeirnion* from *Æterniān-a.*

[2] *Katelling ystret*; *ystret* appears to be cognate with Irish *sreth* 'row, series'; see Pedersen, *Vergl. Gram.*, ii, 627. But it is a dissyllable here, and therefore probably *estret* from **ex-str-*. Pughe's "Silurian" *ystred* 'village', quoted by Pedersen, is probably a dialectal form of *ystryd* 'street'. Richards has "Ystrêt, *s* a row, a rank, *E. Lh.* ' Also. a rate; *i.e.* the paper containing the names of the persons rated".—"Last meaning prob. from *estreat.*"—Prof. Lloyd.

house of Cadell", the poet tells us, "has been unshaken in battle" 45·16. Some of their battles are named: there was "a battle on the Wye to which were brought spears innumerable; Gwentians were slain with bloody blade", 45·16. There was a battle in Anglesey "famed and renowned", 45·18. Also a battle in Cruc Dymet (i.e. Crug Dyved), and Aercol was *ar gerδet* (apparently 'put to flight'), 45·20. Aergol Lawhir was King of Dyved early in the sixth century; Mailcun and Aircol Lauhir were among the *regibus contemporaneis* of Teilo according to the Book of Llan Daf, p. 118. In the pedigree of the house of Dyved, *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, 171, Aircol is the father of Guortepir, who was reigning when Gildas wrote, and whom he addresses as "boni regis nequam fili . . Demetarum tyranne Vortipori", § 31; cf. Lloyd's *Hist.*, 262. His tombstone was discovered near Llanfallteg in 1895, bearing the inscription in Roman Capitals MEMORIA VOTEPORIGIS PROTICTORIS, and in Ogam *Votecorigas*, the Early Irish genitive,[1] *Arch. Camb.*, 1895, pp. 303 ff, 1896, p. 107. Crug Dyved, says Mr. Phillimore, is "not identified" (Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, i,

[1] The forms on the stone prove that the first *r* in *Guortepir* and *Vortepori* is an intruder, though an early one. Both Rhys and Stokes attempt to explain the name as *Vote-porius*, for which it may be said that *Porius* occurs (Hübner, *Insc. Brit. Christ.*, no. 131). But it is strange that it occurred to neither of them that the stem **votepo-* is implied in **votepācos*, which gives *Godebawg*, the epithet of *Coel.* The Latin and Irish genitives on the stone prove that the nom. was *Votepo-rix*; this would give *Guotepir* in Old Welsh, as *Maglo-rix* gives the Medieval *Meilyr*. It follows that *Vortipori* in the text of Gildas is not the voc. of *Vo(r)tiporius* but an error for *Voteporix*. In fact, Mommsen's only authorities for *Vortipori* are the printed editions of 1525 and 1568. The oldest MS. (C, 11th cent.) has *uortipor**; the next oldest (A, 12th cent.), *uortipore*; the latest (D, 14th cent.) *uertepori*. Dr. Lloyd rightly writes the name *Voteporix* in his *Hist.*, 1911, p. 115; and Mr. Ifor Williams analysed it and showed its relation to *Godebawg* in *Y Beirniad*, 1915, pp. 275-6. The evidence of the stone determines the form beyond dispute.

223). After naming these battles[1] the poet comes to Cynan himself "the son of Brochvael of wide dominions", 45·21; his "song is of Cynan", 45·24, but he only mentions one of his battles, fought in the land of Brachan, 45·25. But Cynan is *Kyngen kymangan*, 46·2, that is, of the same nature as his grandfather Cyngen (Cincen in the Harleian pedigree) who doubtless fought in the earlier battles; *kymangan* is (excepting the *ky-*) a beautiful example of Old Welsh spelling, not quoted above because I had not detected it: transliterated into modern spelling it is as clear as daylight—*cyf-anian*.[2] Finally all the world is "thrall to Cynan," 46·4, a remark which, it will be remembered, the poet also made of Urien. The metre of the poem is rhyming half-lines of five syllables, which is that of "Uryen Yrechwydd" and "Llywydd echassaf" above; and old rhymes occur: *-eb* and *-ec* (= *-eg*) rhyme with *-et* (= *-ed*). The poem ends with *Kynan*, with which it begins; on this return to the beginning see note, p. 192 above; *trawsganu* in the title seems to be an obsolete technical term denoting a poem containing this feature, as *traws-gynghanedd* is a

[1] Mr. Phillimore in Owen's *Pem.*, part iii, p. 281, understands all the battles to be Cynan's; but I do not think that is the natural interpretation. It is also difficult chronologically, though not impossible: Cynan's son died at Chester about 613; this makes Cynan rather young to have fought Aircol, whose son had presumably been reigning some time before Gildas wrote, which was before 547.

[2] The actual Old Welsh spelling would be *cimangan*. The modern *cyf-* would of course be *cim-*; and the fact that the consonantal *i* of *anian* does not affect the preceding vowel proves that it comes from *g*, like the *i* of *arian* 'silver' from **argant-*, or of *Urien* which in Old Welsh spelling is *urbgen* as above noted. The Old British form of *anian* would be **ando-gan-*, cognate (except for the *do* of the prefix) with the Latin *in-genium*: see *Gram.* p. 269. Dr. Evans reads "*gynghein gymangan*", which he renders "harmonizes the orchestra"! II, 94, 95.

cynghanedd in which the answering consonants are at the two ends of the line.[1]

"Mydwyf Taliesin deryð", p. 69, has been understood to be an elegy on Cunedda. In the *Myvyrian*, p. 60, it is entitled "Marwnad Cunedda"; but the sole source of the *Myvyrian* text is the Book of Taliesin, in which the poem has no title. Thus for "Marwnad Cunedda" there is no manuscript authority. Cunedda was Maelgwn's great-grandfather, according to the Harleian pedigree (*Y Cymmrodor*, ix, 170); he came from Manaw Gododdin in the North, and drove out the Irish from Gwynedd with great slaughter 146 years before the reign of Maelgwn, as we learn on the excellent authority of the "Saxon Genealogies" in a passage reproduced in our frontispiece. Possibly the "cxxxxvi" which has been rendered in words in our facsimile had an x or two too many; but the great-grandfather of Maelgwn, must belong to the early part of the fifth century, and could hardly have been the subject of an elegy by Taliesin. Stephens deals with this difficulty in an article in the *Arch. Camb.*, 1852, reprinted in *The Gododin*, p. 356; he says:

> This poem has been a great stumbling-block in the way of all rational accounts of Taliesin and his poems. Is it an ancient or a modern poem? If read without any misgivings as to the chronology, the poem carries with it all the marks of antiquity; there is an utter absence of any romantic or fictitious element; it has all the appearance of an historical poem, and possesses all the attributes which belong to the other poems of Taliesin.

His proposed solution consists in an attempt to prove, despite the Nennian evidence, that Cunedda lived till about 550! It is a curious juggling with figures which Skene rightly dismisses as "very inconclusive", *F.A.B.*,

[1] It is of course absurd to suppose that this poem is a "satire"; and there is no more reason for supposing that *trawsganu* is a 'satirical song' than there would be for taking *traws-gynghanedd* to mean a 'satirical cynghanedd'.

ii, 418. Nash suggests another explanation (*Taliesin*, p. 85):

> It is, however, possible that this poem may originally have been a production of the sixth century. There would be a reason why one of the bards who ministered to the pleasures of the court of Maelgwn Gwynedd should have selected as a subject for his muse the praise of the renowned ancestor of that chieftain.

This suggestion overlooks the fact that it must at any time have seemed somewhat unreal to mourn the death of a person who has been more than a century in his grave. As Nash admits the possibility of the poem's genuineness only to reject it, it seems strange that he did not fix upon the apparent anachronism as proving his case: Taliesin mourning Cunedda is just the sort of mistake that a medieval fabricator would be likely to make—it is, in fact, a mistake that the medieval copyist did make. Nash's argument is, however, quite different: he takes *canonhydd* to mean "according to the canons", so that the line which contains it must be late, and proceeds—

> Like the rest of its class, the piece exhibits no marks of antiquity in its language or sentiments; on the contrary, it is smoother and more polished than many other pieces in the same collection.

That a person who is so ignorant of Welsh as to render *i gilydd* "the retreat", and to miscopy *ei ofn ai arswyd* 'his fear and dread' as *ei ofn ai arfwyd*, rendering it "fear of his arms", should take upon himself to lay down the law as to marks of antiquity in the language is a piece of impudence which is unfortunately not unparalleled in the criticism of these poems. Every Welsh-speaking child understands *i gilydd* 'each other'; yet it is a phrase that goes back to Primitive Keltic, for it is found not only in Breton (*e gile*), but also in Irish (*a chēle*). Thus the phrase, though still repeated by us every day, was used by our ancestors more than a thousand years before the time

of Taliesin. But this poem does not contain many phrases that are easily understood ; so far from exhibiting "no marks of antiquity", it exhibits more than most. The text is more corrupt than that of the majority of the songs to Uryen ; and the poem contains a relatively larger number of rhymes of the early type. Professor Rice Rees, in his *Essay on the Welsh Saints*, p. 114 fn., regards it as "perhaps the earliest specimen of Welsh poetry extant" ; it was composed, he suggests, not by Taliesin, but by an earlier bard of the same name! Its difficulty is such that it has entirely baffled the translators: Stephens's version is mostly wild guess-work ; Nash's I have already spoken of—it is characteristic of him to talk about the "sentiments" of a poem which is entirely beyond his comprehension; Robert Williams is content, as he usually is in cases of difficulty, with producing mere nonsense. Dr. Evans translates his own re-hash of the poem, which is not even in the metre of the original, and in which, as usual, half the "cymeriadau" are violated.

The poem laments the death of a representive of the house of Cunedda who has been killed in a fratricidal war with his kinsmen of the clan of Coel Godebawc. Cunedda's father was Edern; his mother is said to have been Gwawl, daughter of Coel ; in the poem the descendants of Cunedda are called Edyrn, and the descendants of Coel, Coeling or Coelyn. In the original form of the poem the dead prince was referred to by name at least thrice and by lineage twice. Taking the latter first, these five references are as follows: (1) In line 43 of the poem he is called *mab Edern*, 70·11 ; this is literally true of Cunedda, and if it is the original reading it would convince the medieval glossator or copyist that this obscure poem which names Cunedda several times must be an elegy on him. But in poetry, and even the prose of antiquity, "son" may

denote a 'descendant', in the singular as well as in the plural, as Mephibosheth is called the "son of Saul" his grandfather, 2 Sam. xix, 24, so that the expression is ambiguous. When the person meant is otherwise known he may be called the "son" of his ancestor, as every man is a son of Adam. The next reference clears up the ambiguity. (2) In line 21 the dead prince is called *yscynyal Cuneδaf*, 69·21, which the scribe did not understand, for he wrote the *ys* separately; the "cymeriad" with *ascwrn* confirms the reading *yscynyal*. This is a participial form, e.g., *wybyr ysgynnyal* B.A. 15·11 'sky-ascending'; as a noun 'ascendant' it was replaced by *esgynnyδ*. It may seem strange that this should be used for a *de*scendant; nevertheless it is a fact: the degrees of descent are usually given as *mab*, *ŵyr*, *gorwyr*, *goresgynnyδ* (e.g., *Anc. Laws*, ii, p. 86); it is obvious that originally *ŵyr* and *gorwyr* must have been followed by *esgynnyδ* and *goresgynnyδ*, and thus *esgynnyδ* would be the great-great-grandson. I do not wish to suggest that *yscynyal* is used here in this strict technical sense, though it would be exactly right, for we do not know how old the narrowed sense can be, and it is more likely that by *yscynyal Cuneδa* the poet meant simply 'descendant of Cunedda'. (3) Line 15 of the poem reads thus, 69·17:

Marw Cuneδaf a gwynaf a gwynit.

The end-rhyme is *-yδ*; the last words should therefore be *a gwynaf*, *a gwynyδ*, or rather *ae cwynaf*, *ae cwynyδ*, see note; this is made certain by the "cymeriad" and by a parallel passage. The line should be eight syllables long; as it stands it is ten; it seems therefore that the name *Cuneδaf* has been substituted for a name of one syllable. (4) The prince's death is referred to in line 29 as *Aδoet hun* 'the death of *hun*' and (5) in line 50 as *difa hun o Goeling* 'that *hun* was slain by the Coeling', *o* being the regular

preposition used to introduce the agent *after* a verbal noun.[1] In Old Welsh the demonstrative pronoun *hwn* 'this one' is written *hunn*; final *-nn* is written quite regularly even in syllables that became unaccented later; our scribe must have been quite familiar with *hunn*, which he writes *hwn* (43·24); the fact, therefore, that here he wrote *hun*, not once but twice, proves that the original word was not *hunn*. In an Insular hand in which the tall strokes are little longer than others *h* and *r* were liable to be confused; and as *hun* makes no sense in either of these passages, it seems that it must be an error for *run*, and that the poem is an elegy on *Rhūn*, the son of Maelgwn. This is in accordance with everything we know of *Rhun*; almost the only information that tradition has handed down to us about him is that he fought against the men of the North, and that Taliesin sang on one of his expeditions; see above p. 47. Maelgwn is not mentioned; but there is clearly a lacuna in the poem; and the bard is mainly concerned with Rhun's descent from Cunedda and Coel.

In the printed editions of the poem (I am of course not referring to the diplomatic text) the metre is deranged, and internal rhymes are confused with end rhymes; none of the editors has guessed what the metre is, or understands the nature and position of the rhymes. As these things must be determined before any verbal emendations are attempted, I insert notes on metre and rhyme before the text. It will be seen that the rhymes not only bear witness to the great antiquity of the poem, but throw further light on the early system of rhyming.

[1] *Difa* is a verbal noun: when the verb is transitive the agent of the verbal noun is put before it with *i*, or after it with *o*, as I pointed out in *Y Geninen*, 1887, p. 181. The latter construction, though obsolete in the spoken language, is familiar from its frequent use by the translators of the Bible, as *cyn canu o'r ceiliog*, Matt. xxvi, 34; for other references see Pedr Hir's *Key and Guide* [1911], pp. 26, 27.

THE METRE AND RHYMES OF "MARWNAD RHUN".

The metre is "Byr a Thoddaid". This is made up of "cyhydedd fer" and "toddaid byr", in other words, of lines of 8 syllables interspersed with couplets of 10, 6. The end of the "toddaid byr", o couplet of 10, 6, must rhyme with the group of lines of 8 to which it is joined; this "chief-rhyme" may also occur in the line of 10, two or three syllables from the end, as in the first line of an ordinary englyn; but this is optional. In the "toddaid byr" the short second line is connected with the first either by a correspondence of consonants at the end of the first and beginning of the second, as in *gwir* and *gwrawl* in lines 47-8; or by the end of the first rhyming with the third syllable of the second, as in *tydwed* and *wyneb* 21-2 (*-ed* and *-eb* is a good rhyme). It is improbable that any lines in this metre were originally long or short; lines of 9 would confuse the metre with that later called "gwawdodyn" which consists of lines of 9 mixed with "toddaid" couplets (10, 9). Extra syllables are in all cases doubtful in lines of 8, and probably the whole of "Gweith Gwen Ystrat", lines 1-22, above p. 161, should have been regularized, e.g., by substituting *uδ* for *wledic* in line 2, omitting *rwy* in line 5, etc., as well as making the corrections suggested in the notes.

The chief-rhyme in the first fifteen lines is *-yδ*, with variants *-yr*, *-yl* as follows; *kyfergyr*, l. 7; probably *myr*, l. 8; *gyfyl*, l. 12.

These lines are followed by three lines with the rhyme *-un*, and two with the rhyme *-wm* or *-wrn*. I do not know that any minimum of rhyming lines was prescribed; but I cannot help thinking that a lacuna exists here consisting of the last lines of the *-un* group and the first lines of the *-wm* group. It may be suggested that one of the rhyming words in the lost lines of the first group may have been the name of *Rhun*.

Lines 21 to 28 have the rhyme *-wyt*; the irregularities are due to textual corruption and are dealt with in the notes.

Lines 29 to 38 have the rhyme *-af*, with variants *-aγ* and *-aw*. It has been supposed that the fact that *Cuneδa* rhymes here with *-af*, and is even spelt *Cuneδaf*, proves that the poem is quite late. Dr. Evans says that there is no *Cuneδaf*, but there is a *Cuneδa*, for which his authority is "B(ruts) 317"! But he says "the rhyme demands a final *v* here. Read *ryn* cu nav"! The explanation of the spelling *Cuneδaf* in our text is that the scribe, or a glossator whose "corrections" he copied, was as ignorant as Dr. Evans of the old system of rhyming, and believed that "the rhyme demands a final *v* here". As already stated above, p. 91, the oldest spelling of this name is *Cunedag* which is seen in our frontispiece, line 14; this represents the pronunciation *Cuneδaγ*, in which *γ* is the soft mutation of *g*,

which was sounded as a very soft *ch*; it bears the same relation to *ch* that *v* does to *ff*, or that δ does to *th*. By the universal loss of γ in Welsh the name became *Cuneδa*. But before it was lost -*a*γ formed a good rhyme with -*av* (written -*af*), and also with -*aw*.

The correspondence of γ and *w* is also seen in the next group, lines 39 to 44. The rhyme is -*ew* : but two of the rhyming words, *cyflew* and *anaelew*, are so spelt because the scribe thought that "the rhyme demands a final" *w*. The words are *cyfle* and *anaele*, which must have been originally *cyfle*γ and *anaele*γ; thus -*e*γ rhymes with -*ew*.

An important result follows. We have seen in this and other poems that δ frequently rhymes with *r* or *l*; but we have come across no example of δ rhyming with *f* (*v*). Again in the above examples we find *f* rhyming with γ and *w*, but not with δ. It seems therefore that the rhyming of soft spirants was not indiscriminate; they were instinctively divided into two classes, the clear (dental) δ, *l*, *r*, and the dull (labial and guttural) *f*, *w*, γ; and clear were rhymed with clear, and dull with dull. Examples of the former rhymes are very numerous; the latter are comparatively rare. We find, however, in the old poems in B.B. 18-27 the following rhymes, which confirm the above classification:—(1) clear: *reuve*δ, *argel*, p. 20; *merwery*δ, *evengyl*, 22; *glythwyr*, *dievyl*, 26;—(2) dull: *gouchaf*, *da*γ (of course spelt *da*) 24; *tang*δ*ef*, *arwyre*γ (spelt *tagde*, *arvere*) 25: see *tang*δ*ef*, B.A. 26·14, *arwyre* B.T. 56·14. The distinction does not apply to explosives, for *b*, *d*, *g* are rhymed with each other indiscriminately.

The last rhyme-group in the poem, lines 45 to 50 has the rhyme -*yng*, with the variant -*ynn* in *unbyn*, l. 48. The spelling -*ing* in *die*δ*ing*, l. 45, and *Coeling*, l. 50, represents the medieval and modern modification of -*yng*. A double nasal can correspond to any combination of consonant and nasal, because the nasal sound predominates; thus *lwm* (i.e. *lwmm*, for *m* is always double) rhymes with *ascwrn* in ll. 19·20. That is why the 3rd pl. of the verb so often ends in -*yn*, -*an*, etc., in these poems; it is not because it was sounded -*yn* or -*an* when the poems were written, but because -*ynt* and -*ynn* formed a good rhyme; but late copyists, who themselves dropped the -*t*, naturally imagined that the bard dropped it. A good example of nasal rhymes occurs in 41·3·4, where all the following are rhymed together: *dyby*δ*ynt*, *brynn*, *ronynn*, *mechteyrn*. In line 13 of our poem we find *Etwyn* and *Coelyn* rhyming; the *wy* must be *ir* misread as *ui* (one of the commonest errors, see above p. 164, ll. 4-6), and the rhyme is *Edyrn* and *Coelyng* (the name *Edwin* rhymes with *breenhin* B.B, 75·7). The -*yng* of *Coelyng* is probably for *-*ygn* from -*iknī*, the plural of -*iknos*, the Keltic suffix used to form patronymics, as in the Gaulish *Toutissicnos*

'son of Toutissos'; the pl. occurs in the North Italian Todi inscription: *Tanotaliknoi* 'sons of Dannotalos'. (The Old Eng. patronymic *-ing* is a different formation, coming from original **-enkos*, Brugmann II² i, 485.) It is evident that *gwin*, l. 49, with its single *n* and long *i* (from Lat. *vīnum*) cannot rhyme with the words of the group, and must therefore be a mis-reading.

The "cymeriadau" are shown by the mark † placed after the catchword.

MARWNAD RHUN.

M*i* ydwyf Taliessin deryꝺ *ar* gwawt;
Ry godolaf vedyꝺ,
Bedyꝺ rwyꝺ r(i)*y*feꝺen (ei)Do(l)*f*yꝺ.

Kyfrwnc allt a(c) *h*allt ac echwyꝺ
Ergrynawr Cuneꝺa(f) c(reiss)e*y*ryꝺ
Y*n*g Kaer Weir a Chaer Liwelyꝺ;
Ergrynawt kyf*n*a(t)wt kyfergyr. †

Kyf(a)*u*n *g*wanec t(a)*o*n tra mŷr ton *llupaw*
Llupawt glew ý gilyꝺ,
Kan kaf*f*a(s)*t* (ywh)*ryv*el uch elv*y*ꝺ
Mal ucheneit gwynt wrth onwyꝺ;
Kef(y)nder*w* c(h)y(n)*v*ygi(n)*t* ý gyfyl (kyfach)—
Et(w)y*r*n a Choelyn*g* kerenhyꝺ.
Gwiscant (?) veirꝺ kywrein ka(n)*ll*onyꝺ:
Marw (Cuneꝺaf) *Run* a gwynaf a gwyn(it)*y*δ. †

Cwynitor tewꝺor tewꝺ(u)*i*n, diarchar,
Dychyfal, dychyfun;
D(yf)ïynveis dyf(y)ngleis dychyfun.

. . . .

Ymadrawꝺ (cwded-)*wrth g*awꝺ (?) caletlwm,
Caletach wrth (elyn) *âl* noc ascwrn. †

Yscynyal Cuneꝺa(f) kyn k(y)wys (a) t(h)ytwet
Ẏ wyneb a gatw(e)*y*t;
Kanweith kyn bu lleith yn dorglwyt
Dych(ludent)*yrchei* wŷr Bryneich (ym) pymlwyt;
(ef) Canet rac y of(y)n ae arswyt
Oergerꝺ(et) kyn bu dayr dog(y)n ý (d)*gl*w(e)*y*t.
Heit haval am wyꝺwal gŵn e(b)r*ch*wy(t)*s* gw(ei)*a*n(aw)*t*—
Gwaeth llyfreꝺ noc aꝺwyt. †

Aꝺoet (h)*R*un, (dimyaw) *dymhun* (?) a gwynaf
Am lys am *wreg*(r)ys Cuneꝺa(f)γ.

[2]Am hyd(y)rver môr, [1]am ry-aflaw — [1], [2] in MS.
Hallt, am breiꝺ a (f)*s*wrn aballaf.
Gwawt veirꝺ a o(g)*d*on a o(g)*d*af,
A(c)e (-reill)*rif* a r(e)*i*fon a rifaf : †
R(y)*i*fedawr yn ervlawꝺ anaw
Cant gorwyꝺ (kyn) ky(m)*f*un Cuneꝺaγ.
Rymafei *oe* biw blith y(r)*n* haf,
Rymafei eꝺystrawt (y) gaeaf,
Rymafei win gloyw ac olew,
Rymafei tor(o)f keith rac un trew.
(ef) Dy(f *w*al ogressur o gyfle(w)γ,
Gw(e)*a*ladur, pennadur pryt llew. †
Lludwy v(e)*y*ꝺei gywlat rac mab Ed(e)*y*rn
Kyn Edyrn anaele(w)γ.

(ef) Dywal, diarchar, dieꝺ(i)*yng*,
Amryf*f*reu a(g)*r*cheu dychyfy*n*g.
(ef) Goborthi aes yman r(e)*a*gorawl gwir,
Gwrawl oeꝺ ý unbyn*n*.
Dymhun (a) c(h)yfatcun a (thal gwin) *dëyrn* ;
Kamd*r*a diva (h)*R*un o Goel(i)*yng*.

THE DEATHSONG OF RHUN.

I am Taliesin ardent in song;
I rejoice in Baptism,
Baptism, the grace of the fulness of the Lord.

Between hill and sea and river
The strongholds of Cunedda are shaken
In Durham and Carlisle :
The conflict of kinsfolk shakes them.

Like the surge over seas of wave [devouring] wave
The brave devour each other,
For war has been waged in the land,
Like the sigh of the wind among ashtrees;
Cousin fights his fellow (*gloss*, relative)—
Edern's sons and the Coeling, their kinsmen.
The bards adorn (?) [their] ingenious conceits :
It is the death of Rhun that I mourn and shall mourn.

Mourned is [he who was our] bulwark [and] stronghold—fearless
Peerless, matchless;
In the depths (?) of [his ?] deep wound, matchless.

. . . .

His answer to insult (?) was hard and short.
He was harder to an enemy than a bone.

Descendant of Cunedda, till the cutting of the sod [of his grave]
His honour was kept;
A hundred times before he was laid on a hurdle,
He joined battle with the men of Bernicia;
There was sung from fear and dread of him
A song of woe ere his portion of earth was his covering.
A horde like a pack of hounds around a cover beset him—
Cowardice is worse than death!

By the death of Rhun I mourn the fall
Of the court and girdle of Cunedda.
For the tide of the sea, for the salmon
Of the brine, for herds and abundance I shall fail.
The song of the bards that they sing I will sing,
And the numbers that they number I will number;
There are numbered as princely largess
A hundred steeds such as Cunedda [gave].
He gave me of his milch kine in summer,
He gave me horses in winter,
He gave me sparkling wine and oil,
He gave me a guard of serfs against ill omen.
He was a doughty assailant in a rencounter—
Ruler, chieftain with the aspect of a lion.
The land of the enemy would be ashes before the son of Edern
Ere the overthrow of Edern's sons.

He was doughty, fearless, generous—
To manifold requests openhanded.
He bore his shield in the very van,
[Though] his captains were brave.
It is the fall of a noble king;
It is a tragedy that Rhun was slain by the Coeling.

Notes on "Marwnad Rhun".

Translations: Stephens, reprinted in *The Gododin*, 362; Nash, *Taliesin*, 82; Robert Williams, *F.A.B.*, i, 257; Dr. Evans, II, 121.

Line 1.—I take *gwawt* to be the phrase *arguaut* (*ar wawt*) which the scribe has repeatedly miscopied; see above pp. 137-8.

Line 2.— Ry *godolaf*; cf. *ry golychaf* 64·2, p. 138 above. The consonantism *gwawd*|*godoli* implies a *d*, not δ. *Godoli* 'to rejoice in': *Godolei gleδyf e gareδ, godolei lemein e rycel* B.A. 12·20, 'He rejoiced in

the sword of his vengence (?), he rejoiced in leaping into war'; *O winweith a meδwieth dygodolyn* ib. 15·9, *godolei o heit meirch* 37·20. Irish *tol* 'will, desire'.—Baptism=Christianity, see p. 173.

Line 3.—The line is a syllable long in the MS. Probably *eidolyδ* is an error for *Dofyδ*; this is suggested by the line *Nis rydraeth ryveδeu* (*kyvoeth*) *rwyδeu Dovyδ*, B.B. 27 'Not [all the] wealth of the Lord's works can relate it' [viz., what will be done on judgement day], where *kyvoeth* is an obvious gloss on *ryveδeu*, confirming the old meaning 'abundance', see note above, p. 178. *Rwyδ* as a noun (orig. 'course') survives only as an abstract noun suffix, and in the phrase *Duw'n rhwydd!* 'God prosper [you]'. The corresponding form *riadh* in Sc. Gaelic means 'interest'. Perhaps 'produce' would be near the meaning (cf. *rwyδheu*, *rwyδ*, B.A. 29·19·22), and as applied to the Diety 'blessing, grace'. *Ryfeδeu* 'abundance, fulness'; cf. "Of his fulness have all we received, and grace for grace", John, i, 16. I am unable to explain the error *eidolyδ* for *dofyδ*, unless there was some confusion in the copy between *ryfeδeu Dofyδ* and *ryfeδeu elfyδ* 'the fulness of the earth', which seems to have been a common phrase, cf *remedaut elbid* in the Juv. Cod. *F.A.B.*, ii, p 1. Although *eidolyd* appears to be a misreading here, it seems to be a real word, as it occurs again, spelt *eidyolyd* in 74·16, though Silvan Evans states that "the only known instance of its occurrence" is here (69·10).

Line 4.—*a hallt*, see above p. 68 fn.

Line 5.—The line is a syllable long; *creisseryδ* is a ghost-word; the translators take it to mean 'burner' (from *crasu* 'to bake'!), except Dr. Evans, who makes it 'crosier-bearer'! It must be a dissyllable, and it seems possible that it represents the scribe's bungling over *ceirid* (i.e. *ceyryδ*). The medieval plurals of *caer* are *caereu*, *ceyryδ* and *caeroeδ*; and as they are all re-formations it is impossible to say that any one is older than any other.

Line 6.—See pp. 61 and 58-9 above.

Line 7.—*kyfat-|wt*. The error is partly due to the line-division. The word must be a dissyllable; and *kyfnawt* satisfies rhyme, metre and sense; on *nawt* cf. p. 143 above.

Lines 8, 9.—The couplet is two syllables short, and there is no catchword at the end of the first line; a word with the consonants of *llupawt* would most likely be some form of this word itself; and the v.n. used participially is possible, and accounts for the omission, because to a scribe who understood little of metre or matter it might seem to be an error of repetition in the copy (as such metrical correspondences so often seem to Dr. Evans). *Kyfan* should, doubtless, be *kyfun*, a form used several times in the poem. *Llupaw*, ? a denominative from Lat. *lūpus*, cf. Eng. *to wolf*.

Line 10.—*ywhel* is the scribe's transliteration of *iuhel*, which is doubtless his misreading of *ribel* (i.e. *ryvel*), the first stroke of the *r* being mistaken for *i* which was often produced below the line.

Line 12.—*kefynderch*|*yn y g(in* (the *i* or *u* begun as *6*). There seems to be a line-division error, and incorrect copying of what the scribe failed to understand. It is difficult to amend the line; but when it is remembered that *ch* is generally a transliteration of *c*, the emendation suggested will not seem improbable. Though not so near to the MS. reading, *kyrygit* 'fights' is perhaps more likely, owing to its echo in *kyryl*, than *kynnygn* 'opponent', which is also a syllable short. That *kyfach* is a gloss on *kyfyl* seems evident.

Line 13.—*Etwyn*; *ir* misread as *ui*, see note on rhyme above. *Edyrn* seems to be used as an adjective 'heavy' by the late medieval bards; as *baich edyrn o bechodeu*, Myv. 313a 18; but this use does not seem to be early. In B.A. 4·17 there seems to be a reference to the war between the Edyrn and the sons of Coel Godebawc:

Edyrn diedyrn amygyn*t* dir
A meib(yon) Godebawc, gwerin enwir.

The pl. verb *amygyn* 'defended' shows that *Edyrn* is pl.; *diedyrn* is obviously *diedyng* (*dieδyng*) made to "rhyme" with *Edyrn*; as a matter of fact, it rhymes well enough without the scribe's emendation, and we have here another example of nasal rhymes *-yrn*, *-yng*, *-ynt*. We can render the couplet then—

'The generous Edyrn defended [their] land
Against the sons of Godebawg, faithless host.'

Line 14.—Perhaps *gwiscant* is an error for *gwëant* (Old Welsh **guegant*) 'they weave'; *canonhyδ* is probably the word transcribed *kallonyδ* in 41·19: "A ŵyr kerδ gelvyδ, py gêl *kallonyδ*", 'he who knows a cunning song, why does he conceal his wisdom?' We have found that the scribe sometimes copies *li* as *n*; here he seems to have read *ll* as *n*; in that case the word is a derivative of *call*.

Line 15.—*a gwynit*: the rhyme shows that the ending should be *-yδ*; *a gwynaf a gwynyδ* has an exact parallel in the first line of "Anrec Uryen", *Y Cymmrodor*, vii, 125:

Gogyvercheis, gogyfarchaf, gogyferchyδ,
'I have greeted, I greet, I shall greet.'

In my *Gr.*, p. 333, vi, I have shown that *-yδ*, which became the ending of the 2nd sg. pres., would probably be common to all three persons originally in accented verbs, and referred to traces of it in the 3rd. These two examples seem to be clear cases of its use in the 1st person, in both cases fut., as opposed to the pres. in *-af*. Another example, hitherto unexplained, of *-i* for old *-yδ*, used in the 1st as

well as the 2nd sg., also future, occurs in *Mi ae guaredi, a thi ae gueli* B.B. 94·5 'I will deliver them, and thou shalt see them'. The relative *a* should probably be *ae* with the radical, see above p. 189.

Line 16.—*tewδun* should probably be *tew-δin* 'thick fort'; it may be intended for a proest with *-un* of the other lines, as it is unlikely that the *i* was rounded to *u* by the *w* in Early Welsh as it seems to have been later after *u* in *Creuδun*. But as noted above, a rhyme is not absolutely necessary in this position. Note the rhyme *diarchar*, *dychyfal*, connecting the two lines, see p. 207, ll. 11-13.

Line 17.—*dy-* with spirant, negative. We are wholly dependent on the scribe here, as *i* and *y* are not distinguished in Old Welsh. The prefix is *di-*, and there is no reason to suppose that it might not be followed by *ch* (for the usual *g*) like *dy-*, *ry-* and *go-*; e.g. *gochlyt* beside *goglyt*, etc. The initial following these prefixes was sometimes doubled in British; the *ch* represents *cc*.

Line 18.—*dyfynveis* should be three syllables: it also occurs in *dwvyn dyvynveis* B.A. 29·15, and in the sg. as *dïynvas* (3 syll.) in "Anrec Uryen", l. 14 (*Y Cymmrodor*, vii, 125). Possibly this spelling supplies a clue to the formation.

Line 19.—*cwdedawd*; the suggested emendation assumes *gurtc* misread as *cudet*.

Line 21.—There is no reason for *gatwet* where the rhyme requires *gatwyt*. The scribe misread *i* as *e* in several words in this poem, e.g. *dwet* l. 26, *veδei* l. 43.

Line 24.—*Dychludent*; *irc* read as *lut*, and *ei* read as *-et* and transcribed *-ent* (the 3rd pl. ending is *-ynt*, not *-ent*, in the imperf.).

Line 25.—*ef* is a scribal insertion which makes the line too long; so in ll. 41, 45, 47.

Line 26.—*oeryerδ*; *gerδet* for *gerδ* is clearly a scribal error. The use of *oer* for 'sad, painful', etc., survived in poetry down to the 16th cent. and later.

dwet: the scribe took *cluit* for *duet*; the confusion of *d* and *cl* is common, see above p. 165: *e* for *i*, see note on l. 21.

Line 27.—*ebrwyt*, apparently an error for *erchwys* 'pack', possibly written *ehruis*, and read *ebruit* by the scribe.

gweinaw makes the line too long, and is meaningless. A verb in the 3rd sg. aorist is required, which should be a monosyllable with the initial of *gwaeth*; *gwant* 'struck, attacked', satisfies the conditions.

Line 28.—*aδwyt* seems to be an oblique case, after (*n*)*oc*, of *aδoet* cf. *yn ÿ aδwyt* 'at his death' 43·13, *rac aδwyt*, *F.A.B.*, ii, 235.

Line 29.—*Aδoet*. The use of abstract and verbal nouns without prepositions in an oblique case of cause survived in poetry; an exact parallel to the construction here is seen in the following couplet from

the elegy on Ieuan ap Hywel Swrdwal by Hywel Dafydd about 1475 (Pen. MS. 100, f. 125):

Marw Ieuan aeth fy mron i
Mor oer â thrum Eryri.

"By the death of Ieuan my breast has gone
As cold as the ridge of Eryri.'

dimyaw, which seems a late denominative 'to annihilate' (from *dim*), is perhaps substituted for *dymhun* (rhyming with *Run*) which appears to mean 'overthrow', see note on l. 49.

Line 30.—*am grys*. Rhys, *Celt. Brit.*, 1884, p. 119, says that "the cognate Irish *criss* always meant a girdle", and suggests that *crys* is a girdle here; but there is no evidence that *crys* or its Breton equivalent had that meaning; and as the metre requires a dissyllable there can hardly be any doubt that the correct reading is *gwregys*. Pedersen explains this as **gwe-grys*: even if this is right the Breton *grouis* shows that the metathesis is too old to allow us to assume that *grys* is simply an error for *we-grys*. Another explanation of *gwregys* is assumed by Walde s.v. *rīca*.—The "girdle" was doubtless, as Rhys, l.c., suggests, the emblem of authority of the Gwledig, representing the gold belt which was the badge of office of the Dux Britanniarum.

Lines 31, 32.—The scribe seems to have jumped from one *am* to the other and written the second phrase first; he then wrote the second, and, not perceiving the rhyme which had been thus misplaced, neglected to insert the usual marks for 'transpose'. The word *hydyrver* 'tide' hardly gives a satisfactory sense, and may be a misreading.

fwrn; it is clear that 'furnace' makes no good sense; *swrn* is suggested by *am swrn am gorn Kuhelyn*, B.A. 26·13; *swrn* 'great quantity or number', cf. L. G. Cothi, 459, l. 20 of poem.

Line 33.—*a ogon a ogaf* for *a wodon a wodaf* (*w* is generally lost before *o*, as in the prefix *gwo*-); the scribal error consists in the common misreading of *t* as *c*, the original form of the verbs being probably *guotont*, *guotam*, from a verbal noun *guotim* from *guaut* 'song', like *noddi* from *nawdd*, etc.

Line 34.—The analogy of l. 33 shows that *refon* contains the error so often made in these lines of reading *i* as *e*; the scribe made the same mistake in *rim* which he ought to have transliterated as *rif*; but he read the *i* as *e*, and the *m* as *ill*, and so took the word to be *ereill*. The original reading was probably *hai rim*, that is *ae rif*. Possibly *rif* means 'rhyme' and a play on the word was intended.

Line 35.—*Ryfedawr*; probably *rifedor*, *-edor* being the strictly correct medieval form of the passive ending usually written *-etor* (*Gr.* 334).

ervlawδ. The dictionaries' explanation of *blawdd* as 'activity' and and as an adj. 'active' is to be traced back to a bad guess of Wm. Llŷn's, see Dr. Davies, s.v. As the word may be the exact phonetic equivalent of the Sanskrit *mūrdh-án-*, it occurred to me some years ago that it might be the same word, and meant 'head, leader, chief', etc. Silvan Evans's examples, which completely belie the meaning he gives, seem to confirm this: *Ef vlawδ kyfrieu* 'he is the chief of his fellow-princes'; *Blaidd blaengar, blawdd trydar trais,* where *blawdd* is obviously in apposition with *blaidd blaengar*; *tarw trin, an* (? read *ar*) *ryδin blawdd,* 'leader of an army' immediately followed by *arbenic llu* 'chief of a host' (B.B. 97·13). Turning to the compounds, under *aerflawdd* we find *aervleiδ, aervlawδ teyrneδ* 'battle-wolf, battle-leader of kings', and *nawδ aerflawδ aerfleiδ*; under *cadflawdd* again, *Cof cadflawδ a'm cawδ a'm carai* 'the memory of a battle-chief who loved me grieves me'; what sense did Silvan Evans imagine "battle-tumult" made in that line; or in his next example? *Dos . . . ar gatvlawδ* 'Go to the battle-chief'—where the bard addresses a messenger whom he is sending to Llywelyn ap Madawc, *Myv.* 281a. In the B.T. we have *uδ tra blawδ* 63·4, where *blawδ* is an adj. Hence I have rendered *ervlawδ* 'princely'.

anaw. Mr. Ifor Williams has shown that this word means not 'muse, music', etc., as the dictionaries say, but 'bounty, largess', etc., *Gemau'r Gogynfeirdd*, 1910, pp. 100-2.

Line 36.—The line is a syllable long, and *kyn* should be omitted; *kymun* is the Old Welsh *cimun* partly transliterated; it should be *kyfun*, a word used also in l. 8, and compounded in ll. 17, 18. The repetition of a word is a feature that is noticeable in some of these poems; that is why I think the emendation in p. 172, l. 3 above, not improbable; see note, p. 174. The meaning of *kyfun* here is 'like, similar to', as in *dy-chyfun* 'matchless', l. 17, cf. *cimun idaw* 'an equal to him', B.A. 38·14

Lines 37-40.—*Rymafei.* In B.B. 9·1 we have *De-us, re-en, rymawy awen*; this is a syllable long, and the facsimile seems to show that an attempt has been made to delete the *y*, which would give *rymaw awen*; thus *rymaw* seems to mean 'grant' or 'grant me', taking the *m* as the infixed pronoun 'me': 'grant me a muse'. In B.T. 3·12 we have *rymawyr dy weδi* followed by *rymgwares dy voli*, which we may take to mean 'may [my] prayer to Thee be granted me', and 'may praise of Thee save me'; the latter, which is certain, confirms the former. In 4·2 occurs *rymawyr ym pat[er] ym pechawt*: the first *ym* is an unconscious repetition of the *-m-* and makes the line too long; the meaning seems to be 'may [my] prayer be granted me in sin'. Lastly, *Reen, rymawyr titheu kerreifant om kareδeu*, 35·22; here *titheu* seems to be an error for *inheu* supplementing *-m-*; for 'may there be

given me' cannot have a subject 'thou', as the subject is 'forgiveness of my sins'. We seem then to have two forms surviving in prayers only: *rymaw* 'grant me'; *rymawyr* (=*rymaw-wyr*), pres. subj. passive (properly impersonal) 'may there be given me'; these are the parts of the verb mostly used in prayer; cf. *Dyro inni heddyw . . . Gwneler dy ewyllys.* Though the evidence is confused by misreadings, owing to the phrase being obsolete, it seems to justify the assumption that *rymafei* stands for *ry-m-awei* 'he gave me'.

Line 40.—*un trew*, literally 'one sneeze'; this was an ill omen: cf. "I hear one sneeze. . . . I will not believe an omen (*coel*); for it is not true (*certh*, cf. p. 140 above): the Lord who created me will fortify me." B.B. 82·4·6, on starting on a voyage. Superstitions connected with sneezing are widespread. The custom of saying "God bless you" to one who sneezes is well known; in ancient Greece the salutation was "Ζεῦ σῶσον"; among the Romans, "Salve"; in India it is "Live", to which the sneezer replies "with you": similar salutations were and are used among the Hebrews and Mahometans; Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, 1891, i, 100-1. It was variously regarded as a good or bad omen; see Liddell and Scott, s.v. *πταίρω. In India "It is an ill omen, to which among others the Thugs paid great regard on starting on an expedition", Tylor, op. cit. 101; so "in Keltic folk-lore in a group of stories turning on the superstition that anyone who sneezes is liable to be carried away by the fairies, unless their power be counteracted by an invocation, as 'God bless you'", op. c., 103. There is probably significance in the "one" sneeze: "The rabbins . . . say that before Jacob men never sneezed but *once* and then immediately *died*," hence the "salutary exclamation," I. D'Israeli, *Curiosities of Lit.*, Routledge, 1893, p. 48. See other references in Tylor, op. cit., 97-104.

Line 41.—*ogressur*. There seem to be two stems, *cryss-* (in *gwŷr a gryssyassant* B.A. 9·3·10, etc.) which seems to be allied to *cerdd-ed* (vowel gradation *er* : *ry*); and *gryss-* connected with Lat. *gradior*, *gressus*. As the form in the text may be a compound of the former with *gwo-*, *go-*, there seems no reason to amend it. The *e* may be for *y*, original *i*, see note on l. 21.

cyfle. Here again the literal meaning seems to give the required sense; the word now means 'opportunity, convenience'; formerly it meant also 'convenient place' (see Silvan Evans, s.v.); the latter which is the more primitive meaning is clearly derived from 'adjacent place', *cyf-le*: hence probably *o gyfle* 'at close quarters'.

Line 43.—*Lludwy*. That this is the Early Welsh sound is proved by the fact that it is the only possible original of the two modern forms: (1) North Walian and modern literary *lludw*, cf. *Gronw* for *Gronwy*,

etc.: (2) South Walian *lludy* (or *lludu*), cf. *Mowddy* for *Mawddwy*: see *Gr.*, § 78, i (2), ii (1).

veδei: *e* for *y*, original *i*; see note on line 21. The forms of the verb 'to be', *bydd*, *byddei*, *bu*, *oedd*, etc., were *not* preceded by the relative *a* when they came immediately after the complement, or (in other words) where they correspond to *yw* in the present tense; the relative is regularly used when it is itself the subject, thus *a vyδei* corresponds to *sydd* in the present tense. Fn. 3, p. 120 above, refers to the former cases.

cywlat 'adjoining country', chiefly used as a "possessive" (or *bahuvrīhi*) compound, meaning a 'man of an adjoining country', 'an enemy'; here it appears to be used literally, as in B.A. 31·18.

Edern, probably the old genitive *Edyrn* forming a perfect rhyme with *Edyrn* in the next line; but of course a "proest" or half-rhyme is possible.

Line 44.—*anaelew*. The word is *an-aele*; cf. *aele*, Prydydd y Moch, *Myv.* 207 a, Elidir Sais 240 b, Gwalchmai 149 b; *aele, anaele*, an. 355 b. Dr. Davies attributes *anaeleu* to D. Benfras, but that is a misreading for *anadleu* 220 b 35. *Anaeleu* B.T. 14·4 and *Myv.* 191 b should be *aeleu* 'sorrows', probably pl. of *aelaw*: *anaeleu* 315 b is a compound of this. *Aele* may be from **ad-leg-* (as it is probable that *d* might be so treated before as well as after a front vowel) from the root **legh-* 'to lie, lay'; cf. Irish *do-lega* 'qui destruit'.

45.—*di-eδ-yng*: *eδ-yng*, prefix *aδ-* from **ad-* intensive: same meaning as *cyf-yng*; *di-* negative.

Line 46.—*Amryfreu*, 'manifold': *Gwae gebydd o'i gabl amryffrau* (the v.l. *gyfrydd* is obviously a misreading) *Myv.* 271 a 'Woe to the miser because of his manifold iniquities'; with dissimilation, *r . . . l* for *r . . . r*: *Ampryfleu donyeu dynyaδon*, *Myv.*. 201 b, 'Various are the gifts of men'; substantival: *fruith a freu a fop amriffreu* B B. 38·1 'fruits and berries (?) and every diversity'.

agheu, i.e. *angheu*, would be spelt *ancou* in old Welsh (it occurs so spelt in Old Breton, Loth, *Voc.* 39); *archeu* would be spelt *arcou*; by merely misreading *r* as *n* the latter would be converted into the former.

dychyfyng in meaning=*di-gyfyng* (*Myv.* 155 a 26, 164 a 10); see note on l. 17.

Line 47.—*Goborthi*: *-i* is the old ending of the 3rd. sg. impf., variant of *-ei*, modern *-ai*.

yman-|*regorawl*. The most probable reading seems to be *yman ragorawl* 'in the foremost place, in the van', since *rhagori* is used in this sense, as in *Ragorei. tyllei trwy ryδinawr* B.A. 9·19 'he went in the van, he cut his way through armies'. Whether the following word is *gwir* or *gwŷr* would not be indicated in the Old Welsh

spelling, in which both would appear as *guir*. The scribe evidently took it for *gwir*, and he may be right; for the meaning cf. Eng. *very* from Old Fr. *verai*, Fr. *vrai*. The word connects in sound with *gwrawl* in the next line, but the metre requires a pause at the end of the long line so that *gwŷr gwrawl* is improbable—apart from the tautology 'manly men'.

Line 49.—*Dymhun* seems to mean 'overthrow, fall'. Gwalchmai has *Dymhunis ton wyrδ wrth Aberffraw* 'A green wave broke near Aberffraw', repeated with variations in his "Gorhoffedd", *Myv.* 144a. The prefix is probably *dym-* as in *dym-chwelyd* 'overthrow'; and the stem probably stands for **ch*(*w*)*un* perhaps cognate with Ml. Bret. *c'houen* '(lying) on one's back', Ir. *fōen* (**sōen*) allied to Lat. *supīnus* (Fick-Stokes, 305); *u* is the regular Welsh equivalent of Old Irish *ōe*. The author's habit of repeating words makes it probable that this was the word used in l. 29 to rhyme with *Rhun*.

chyfatcun; the *h* may be taken to be the scribe's. It would be too risky to amend this to *catcun* 'war-lord', as *amatgun* occurs, 2·4·10, though the meaning there is obscure. I take *cyf-at-cun* to be an adjectival compound of *cun* 'lord, prince', and therefore to mean 'noble, princely'. The construction would also admit of a substantive in this position, as *cawr* in *cawr o ddyn*; see next note.

thal gwin; the *h* as before. It has been shown above, p. 209, that *gwin* cannot possibly be the rhyming word. As the scribe constantly misreads *ir* as *ui*, we can be fairly certain that his *gwin* represents *girn* in his copy: it cannot be an error for *gwyn* 'white', for that would be *guinn* in the copy, and could not be mistaken for *gwin*. Now *girn* can hardly be anything but the last syllable of the word *teyrn*, which would be written *tegirn* or *tigirn* in the copy; he read it as *tlguin*, and supplied the *a* to make it *tâl gwin* (which Nash alone of the translators accepts as the reading). The modern *o* introducing a noun dependent on an adjective, as in *truan o ddyn*, was *a* in Medieval and Old Welsh, see above p. 129, ll. 5-8, hence *cyfatcun a deyrn* 'a noble prince' or 'king', literally 'a noble [one] of a king'.

Line 50.—*Kamda* seems to be an error for *kamdra* literally 'crooked turn', hence 'ill turn, calamity'. But it may be that the original was *cam bu* (i.e. *cam fu*) and that *b* was misread as *d*, and *u* as *a*. The meaning would be substantially the same.

dira o, see above p. 206 and fn.

Coeling. "Whether Coeling is a proper name or not, is unknown", says Nash, *Tal.* 84. It was unknown to him, and apparently to everybody else at that time, and to Dr. Evans in our own days. Stephens and R. Williams render it "believer", Nash "testimony", and Dr. Evans "superstitious (dread)"! There is, of course, no foundation of any kind to any of these renderings: *-yng* is not a suffix that forms

names of the agent or abstract nouns. I have not troubled to look up Edward Davies's translation in his *Claims of Ossian*, but Nash says that he translates the last line "the race of a colonial city"! None of the translators has understood the force of the *o* before *Coeling*; Stephens thought it introduced the object! Davies renders it "of", the others "from". Each of them is attempting to translate with the aid of a dictionary from a language of which he does not know the grammar. Stephens takes *dymhun* to be *dim hun* 'no sleep'; Nash understands it as *dymunaf* 'I desire'. Dr. Evans's *Cysc, vad gun* "sleep, dear lord" for *cyfatcun* shows that he is more ignorant of Welsh grammar than the quarryman poet, Glan Padarn, author of "*Cwsg*, fy anwylyd di-nam". Nash renders the last two lines thus:

> I respectfully request a share of the banquet, and a recompense in wine.
>
> This has been with difficulty restored from testimony.

With this trivality, which must have seemed plausible enough to those who had no knowledge of the language, and absolutely convincing to Nash himself, contrast the incoherent raving of Robert Williams:

> Sleepiness, and condolence, and pale front,
> A good step, will destroy sleep from a believer.

Did he think the poet was mad? Stephens's translation is only a shade more sensible; and Dr. Evans alone understands his. The rendering of these lines is typical of the whole; *obscurum per obscurius*. I refer to it only to show that no value is to be attached to judgements based on such an understanding of the poem as it reveals.

Many points of detail remain doubtful, as the notes show; most of these difficulties will no doubt be solved when the whole of the old poetry has been systematically studied. But I think it may be claimed that the general purport of the poem is clear throughout. In the opening triplet the bard declares that he is a supporter of the Christian cause, of which the house of Cunedda were the guardians, as the upholders of Roman traditions. Though Cunedda's own name is British, those of his immediate forebears were Latin: Edern (Æternus), Padarn (Paternus), Tegid (Tacitus); and *Peisrudd* 'of the red tunic' the epithet of his grandfather Padarn probably had reference,

as Rhys suggests,[1] to the purple of office. Cunedda's title of "Gwledig" was in full, no doubt, "Prydein Wledic", 23·21, which is clearly Welsh for "Dux Britanniarum"; and it is doubtless in virtue of his rule being "recognised as that of the Gwledig or perpetuator of the command of the Dux Britanniarum"[2] that he exercised his authority as overlord of the British kings. Later, "Prydein Wledic" was in turn rendered into Old English as *Brytenwalda*, *Bretwalda*, etc., and Æthelstán's "Brytenwalda ealles ðyses iglands" corresponds to "rector totius huius Britanniae insulae".[3] Although Maelgwn, Cunedda's great-grandson, is not, so far as we know, actually styled "Gwledig", it is evident that he retained something like his ancestor's position. Gildas, who describes him as excelling the British kings not only in stature but in power, calls him *Insularis Draco*, "meaning probably thereby" as Rhys says, "the Dragon or Leader of the Island of Britain."[4] It is remarkable that in the next paragraph Rhys, speaking of "Maelgwn's son and successor Rhûn" making war in the North, suggests that it was "probably

[1] *The Welsh People*, 1900, p. 106.

[2] Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, 1884, p. 121.

[3] *The New English Dictionary*, s.v. *Bretwalda*, quoted in *Welsh People*, p. 108.

[4] *The Welsh People*, p. 106. Zimmer suggests that the *insula* implied in *insularis* is Anglesey, *Nenn. Vind.* 101. For this view the only thing to be said is that Maelgwn is called "Maelgwn Môn" in B.T. 40·7 and "Maelgwn o Vôn" 41·26, though he is usually "Maelgwn Gwynedd". On the other hand *insularis* qualifies *draco*; and since as Zimmer himself explains (p. 286 fn.) *draco* to the Britons was "the symbol of the military power", *insularis draco* seems more likely to be 'the dragon of the Island' than 'the insular man who is a dragon'. In Welsh poetry *yr Ynys* and even *Ynys* (definite without the article like a proper name) is used for Britain from the *Ynys* of "Armes Prydein", B.T. 18·15, in the 9th century to the *lluoedd Ynys* of Deio ap Ieuan Du in the 15th (*Y Flodeugerdd Newydd*, ed. W. J. Gruffydd, 1909, p. 77).

in order to retain his father's power". A tradition of his wielding this power is reflected in the medieval tale of "Rhonabwy's Dream". In the dream Arthur is seen receiving from the enemy a request for a six weeks' truce; he determines to take counsel, and goes with his advisers to the spot where a tall man with curly auburn hair sits apart. Rhonabwy asks the meaning of this, and is told that the tall man is Rhun vab Maelgwn Gwynedd, whose privilege it is that all shall come and take counsel of him.[1] "The privileged position held by Rhun in the story," says Dr. Lloyd, "may well be an echo of a real predominance held by him as gwledig in succession to his father."[2] But apparently the sons of Coel, or some of them, rebelled against him: a couplet in the Gododdin, as we have seen, speaks of the Edyrn defending their land against the faithless sons of Godebawc. Our poem tells us of a war between kinsmen, the sons of Edern and the sons of Coel, in which *R*ūn was slain by the Coeling—*R*un, who was as generous as the hostile Gildas admits his father to have been.[3] By the death of *R*un the bard laments the fall of the court and girdle of Cunedda, the Gwledig.

The mystification which has caused the poem to be a "stumbling-block" is the work of the thirteenth-century scribe, who understood the poem only a little better than

[1] R. B. Mab., pp. 159-60.

[2] *History of Wales*, pp. 167-8.

[3] A reference to Rhun fighting in the North is seen in B.T. 29·17: "the fortification (*mygedorth*) of Rhun frowns (*a wc*) between Kaer Rian and Kaer Riwc, between Din Eidyn and Din Eidwc"; the second and fourth names I cannot identify, but Kaer Rian must have been near Loch Ryan, and Din Eidyn is Edinburgh; between these lay the land of the Coeling. In the dictionaries *mygedorth* is given as "funeral pile", which is only the usual bad guess. The meaning is clear from B.A. 8·5: "ashen [spears] were sown from the fingers [lit. four divisions] of his hand from the *mygedorth* of stone"; and R.B.M. 301·10: "the *mygedorth* of the host of Gwenđoleu at Arderyđ".

the nineteenth-century translators, and knew less of sixth-century history. He transcribed the dead king's name twice as "*h*un", and in one place expanded it to "*Cuneδa*", thereby making that line two syllables too long. Now, is it likely that the monosyllable *hun* represents Cunedda? or that in the statement "By the death of *x* I mourn the fall of the court and girdle of Cunedda", *x* is Cunedda himself? Is it not obvious that the meaning is that by his death something greater than himself has fallen— a great tradition inherited from an illustrious ancestor? And if there could be any doubt about the answer to this question, it is set at rest by the fact that a few lines earlier he is explicitly called the "Descendant of Cunedda". Thus, when the poem is subjected to the criticism without which it cannot be understood at all, the "stumbling-block" is found to be a landmark. The poem commemorates a war which could hardly have been fought either before or after the time of Taliesin, and laments the fall of the power of Cunedda in the person of his descendant Rhun ap Maelgwn, Taliesin's contemporary.

The upshot of our survey of the historical poems is that, excluding allusions to mythological characters such as Brân, they relate to persons and events of the middle and latter part of the sixth century. Like the poems of the bards of all ages they contain references to famous ancestors of the persons in whose honour they are sung: Ceneu ap Coel, the ancestor of Uryen; Cyngen, the ancestor of Cynan Garwyn; Cunedda, the ancestor of Rhūn. The poet either addresses directly the princes to whom he sings, or speaks of them as contemporaries, living or recently deceased. He sings their praises in the manner which we know to have been then customary because it roused the ire of Gildas; but his eulogy is not a mere repetition of conventional phrases—it has charac-

ter and life. He mentions many battles, some fought in earlier generations; one or two he says he has himself witnessed, and the vividness of his descriptions in these cases stamps his *gweleis* 'I saw' as a true word and not a mere figure of speech. The poems are in a variety of metres, but there are phrases and turns of expression, and a certain delight in antithesis and repetition, which are characteristic of all, and indicate very clearly that they are the work of one man. He calls himself Taliessin. I submit that the reasonable conclusion is that the poems are the work of the bard of that name, who is stated in the "Saxon Genealogies" (our oldest and best authority) to have flourished in the time of Ida of Northumberland, 547-559, and whom "the universal Welsh tradition" as Matthew Arnold says, see above p. 145 fn., "attaches to the sixth century".

Let us consider for a moment the only possible alternative—a twelfth century origin is not a possible alternative, for the evidence is decisive that the poems were copied from a ninth century manuscript. What does the assumption that they are fabrications of the ninth century imply? It implies that there lived in Wales at that time a man (or let us say men, if a conspiracy is more likely), who had learnt a good deal about men and things in the sixth century, not only in Wales but in the North; who had developed in a remarkable degree the modern historical sense of the unity of time, and avoided anachronisms, especially references to later events; who was a great realist—mixed his pronouns to produce the effect of actuality, simulated emotions, drew vivid pictures of ancient battles; who was a rare poet and a great master of the Welsh language; and who applied his extraordinary gifts to forge poems to attribute to Taliesin.

Thomas Stephens, who was by far the greatest critic

in the nineteenth century of old Welsh literature, and whose leaning is acknowledged to have been in the direction of scepticism rather than credulity, believed these poems to be genuine. It is true that he did not understand them very well; but he understood the proper names, and could divine the drift of many passages, and his instinct in these matters was sensitive and sure. Zeuss, the founder of Keltic philology, and his editor Ebel, have no difficulty in accepting the possibility of verses by Aneirin and Taliesin surviving and being transliterated into medieval orthography, *Gram. Celt.*, 1871, p. 965. But, as we have seen, the scholars of the last generation did not regard any such possibility as worthy of serious consideration. When Rhys says, see above p. 23, that the poems "date in some form or other, from the 9th century, if not earlier", he is not attacking the tradition, but only qualifying a statement that their language is medieval. He does not trouble to deny a sixth century origin, but speaks of "the poetry commonly assigned to the sixth century", and leaves it there. His argument is as follows (*Welsh. Phil.*, 1879, pp. 138-9):

> As to the language of this poetry it is generally not much older, if at all, than the manuscript on which it is written. I say the language, for the matter may be centuries older, if we may suppose each writer or rehearser to have adapted the form of the words, as far as concerns the reduction of the mutable consonants, to the habits of his own time, which one might well have done unintentionally, and so, perhaps without tampering much with the matter. . . . The poems ascribed to the Cynfeirdd or early bards belong, as far as concerns us now, to the Mediæval period of Welsh, though the metre, the allusions, and the archaisms, which some of them contain, tend to show that they date in some form or other, from the 9th century, if not earlier.

It behoves us to examine these words carefully. The words "the 9th century, if not earlier" inevitably convey the meaning, and are doubtless intended to mean, "the

9th century, or possibly the 8th". The reasons for referring to that period poems which appear in a medieval garb are three: metre; allusions; archaisms. It is not a logical order, for a reason of content is sandwiched between two reasons of form. Let us take them in the following order: (1) outer form, or *metre*; (2) inner form, or language—*archaisms*; (3) content—*allusions*. (1) Some of the *metres* were obsolete in the twelfth century, and all are old; but what possible reason can there be for supposing that they are not older than the eighth century? Had not Gildas' *praecones* metres? What reason of history or tradition is there for the assumption that there was a prolific invention of metres in the eighth century? (2) *Archaisms* may prove that a composition is old; but how can they determine a limit to its age? Do archaisms prove that it is *not* older than the period just before they became obsolete? (3) *Allusions*. The allusions in the poems we have studied above are to men and things of the sixth century or earlier. How can allusions to men and things of the sixth and earlier centuries prove that the poems were composed in the eighth or ninth? It is seen that the two reasons of form are not reasons *against* the tradition—they tell more for than against it; and the reason of content is a reason decidedly for the tradition, and dead against Rhys's view. How could he draw such a conclusion from such premises? What made him fix on the ninth or possibly the eighth century? Had he any knowledge of any gifted poet or poets busily engaged in faking early poems about that time? None at all. He writes in his *Hibbert Lectures*, 1888, pp. 543-4:

> It is convenient to follow the long-established custom of speaking of certain Welsh poems as Taliessin's, and of a manuscript of the 13th century in which they are contained as the Book of Taliessin. These poems represent a school of Welsh bardism, but we know in reality nothing about their authorship.

He knew nothing—had no sort of historical or traditional evidence for his statement. He made it because he saw that these poems are as old as anything in Welsh, and believed that the Welsh language could not go back in its uninflected form beyond the eighth century. This belief followed necessarily from his assumption that the language of the sixth century was identical with the fully inflected language of the first; but it has no other foundation. He himself admitted that that was an assumption which he could not substantiate, see above p. 28. Thus when Rhys flouted tradition and contemptuously set at naught the considered view of Stephens, which was based on the *facts* of the poems, his own view rested on nothing but an unproved assumption. He made the assumption under the influence of a gross error: he thought he had discovered the actual British speech of the sixth century in the archaic Irish of the Ogams, *Welsh Phil.*, 1879, p. 140. In the Latin inscriptions, he says, the names "have their terminations Latinised"; but he believed that in the Ogams he had the real British forms. This erroneous view he stoutly maintained, op. cit., pp. 154 ff.; and though he formally renounced it shortly afterwards, *Celt. Brit.*, 1884, p. 215, his statement about the poetry of the Cynfeirdd was made when he held it, and is dictated by it. This can be made clearer by taking a concrete example typical of the argument: he thought that *maqui* in the Ogams was the genitive of the sixth century form of the Welsh *mab*, see *Welsh Phil.*, pp. 155-6; he had also read the genitive *Brohomagli* on a stone not much later than the sixth century, do., p. 264; he concluded that Taliesin could not have written *mab Brochvael* 45·21, even in its oldest spelling *map Brochmail*, but must have written *maquos Brohomagli*, which upsets the metre! When he discovered his error he did not abandon the conclusion,

for he still believed that, though *maqui* is Irish, the contemporary British form was *mapi*, which for the purposes of the argument comes to the same thing. But of this there is no evidence at all, and it involves the absurd supposition that a new language was suddenly developed in Wales about the end of the seventh century, and also that an identical new language was suddenly developed in Brittany about the same time. I believe he had considerably modified his views on this point in recent years—no scholar was ever more ready to revise his theories in the light of new facts; thus in 1893 he makes no comment on a statement of Dr. Evans in a work in which he collaborated (Llyfr Llan Daf, p. xlvi) that a document written in Welsh goes back to Teilo's time; and when he read, in 1912, the proof of pages 190-1 of my *Grammar*, in which the probability is urged that the loss of the inflexions had already taken place in the sixth century, he raised no objection.

Holding the view that the poems are spurious, it is not surprising that Rhys was never sufficiently interested in them to make them the subject of sustained and serious study. He has given renderings of some of them and of parts of others, but he never worked systematically at their prosody and vocabulary; and thus, though he had the insight to perceive that metre, language and content bore witness to their antiquity, he never had any conception of the true extent and force of the evidence to which he refers.

Zimmer had reasons of his own for asserting that the poems are still later fabrications. He analysed the tract "Saxon Genealogies", and discovered most convincing proofs that it was written towards the end of the seventh century, was enlarged by interpolations, and was then copied by Nennius at the end of the eighth, see above, p. 44. But he was ignorant of the fact that *a-* may be

inorganic or excrescent before initial *n*-, and therefore thought that *Aneirin* was the original form of this name, and that Nennius mistook it for *a Neirin* and wrote *et Neirin*, in error, see p. 45. In making what he no doubt believed to be a brilliant suggestion, Zimmer forgot that 'and' was usually *ha* before a consonant in Old Welsh, and appears as *ha* in the very oldest piece of written Welsh (the *Surexit* memorandum noticed below). From the assumption of an error where there is no error Zimmer deduced the further assumption that the Welshman Nennius had never heard of "Aneirin"; from this particular assumption he deduced the general assumption that Welshmen generally had never heard of any of the sixth century poets; from this egregious fallacy of arguing from a special case to a universal rule he deduced the further assumption that the Welsh people only learnt of even the names of these poets in Nennius's compilation, forgetting again that the Nennian form *Neirin* is not found in Welsh.[1] From the last assumption it follows that Neirin and Taliesin were first heard of in Wales at the end of the eighth century, that they became famous only during the ninth, and consequently that the poems attributed to them were forged in the ninth or tenth century at the earliest. Zimmer's "emendation" is an ill-considered piece of tampering with a good text;[2] but even

[1] Since the Welsh, by Zimmer's supposition, only learnt the name from Nennius, they must have got it in the form *Neirin*. It is found later among them as *Aneirin:* this is therefore a late form with excrescent *a*-, since the supposition that they got it from another source is excluded *ex hypothesi*. And this form, which is demonstrably late on his own hypothesis, is the form which Zimmer assumes to be the original form misunderstood by Nennius!

[2] I have always regarded it as a mare's nest, see my note in *Y Beirniad*, 1911, p. 59; and I believe no one would have accepted it for a moment but for the exaggerated deference formerly paid to every suggestion made by a German. Anwyl derived *Aneirin* from

if it were sound, the superstructure raised upon it is about as extreme an example as can well be found of a pyramid set on its apex.

The view thus conceived in error, and later supported by preposterous fallacies, has been accepted without question, and repeated by other writers. I have not accepted it myself, but, when I have had occasion to refer to the Cynfeirdd, I have expressed the opinion that some of the poems attributed to them, though naturally modernised by copyists, may be genuine.[1] My study of the language has been the outcome of an interest in its poetry; and, approaching the subject from that side, I have been naturally impressed with the evidence of the poems; the argument from the inscriptions was not conclusive; it was a mere hypothesis, and might be fallacious. Rhys, who was the first Welshman to apply strict modern methods to the study of the language, was conscious of the importance of induction, or drawing inferences only from facts, a process which yielded such fruitful results in his hands as compared with the barren philosophizing

Honōrīnus; but *ō* gives *u* in Welsh; and even if it were shortened, *o...ī* gives *e...i*, not *ei...i*, as in *cegin* from *coquīna*. The sequence *eirin* can only come from *egrīn-* (or with *a* or *o* instead of *e*; or with *ng* or *d* instead of *g*). As *i...i* tends to become *e...i* in Welsh (e.g. *dewin* from *dīvīnus*) it had occurred to me, and (I learnt after the appearance of the above note) independently to Professor W. J. Gruffydd, that *Neirin* may come from *Nigrīnus.*

[1] As in *Y Gwyddoniadur*, new ed., art. "Cymraeg", p. 68b, written in 1891; and in *Chambers' Encyc.*, art. "Wales (Lang. and Lit.)", pp. 528-9. In 1900 I wrote (in Welsh), "Although the *Gododin* of Aneirin in its present form was not written in the sixth century as was formerly supposed, it has not yet been proved that it cannot in substance be as old as that", *Trans. Liverpool Nat. Soc.*, 1900-1, p. 31. Cf. also my *Caniadau*, 1907, p. 56 (written in 1892). Rhys's *Hibb. Lect.* had appeared in 1888; Zimmer's *Nenn. Vind.*, which contains, pp. 103, 283, the precious argument dissected above, was published in 1893.

of the old etymologists. But perhaps he was rather liable to regard as facts only those of the more palpable sort, and consequently to underrate the value of tradition. Tradition does not relate precise facts; but he did not fully realise that tradition is itself a fact, not always to be disposed of by the hasty assumption that all men are liars. Nor could he be trusted in all cases to draw the right inference from his facts. Inscribed stones are no doubt hard facts; but it does not follow that inflected forms used in Latin and primitive Irish represented contemporary British speech. The rising and the setting of the sun are facts; but it does not follow that the sun spins in a helix round the earth. Facts may be rightly observed and wrongly interpreted. In the case of our poems a wrong interpretation of certain facts, less justifiable than the assumption of geocentric astronomy, has been allowed to override the united testimony of tradition and history, and the internal evidence of the poems themselves.

There are few inscriptions in Early, or even Medieval, Welsh—in fact, very little Welsh was ever cut on stone before the nineteenth century; and the Welsh of a modern tombstone is not the local living dialect, but the language of the Bible, which was in some respects archaic in the sixteenth century, preserving, for example, the final *-t* of the third person plural of verbs, which the spelling of the Black Book (*dygan*, *deuthan*, 2·5·8) shows to have been obsolescent in the twelfth. At what false conclusions might not a philologist of the far future arrive as to the history of the language if he had only inscribed stones to go upon, and took no account of the fact that the written language may preserve ancient forms?

The earliest extant inscription in Welsh appears to be that on the so-called "stone of St. Cadvan". Westwood

thought the lettering belonged to the seventh or eighth century, *Arch. Camb.*, 1850, p. 95. Rhys examined the stone, and confirmed the substantial correctness of Westwood's reading; to him it remained "a *crux*"; *Arch. Camb.*, 1874, p. 243. See below, Appendix I.

The oldest piece of written Welsh is undoubtedly the *Surexit* entry in mixed Welsh and Latin on p. 141 of the Book of St. Chad. It is the record of the settlement of a dispute concerning a piece of land, the first witness being "Teliau". It certainly appears, on the face of it, to be what Dr. Evans, under the eye of Rhys, stated it to be, "a copy of a document of Teilo's time", *Book of Llan Dav*, p. xlvi. If that be so, and the probability is that it is, then Rhys's hypothesis of sixth century British goes finally by the board; and the language of Teilo's time is the Welsh of the poems attributed to Taliesin. The matter is discussed below in Appendix II.

To argue from the absence of contemporary documentary evidence of Welsh in the sixth century to the nonexistence of the language at that time is to commit the error of taking "the first attestation of a fact to be the date of the fact itself" (see p. 43). It is more—it proves too much; for by the same reasoning neither British nor Welsh existed in the sixth century, which, of course, is absurd. There are no records of the early periods of languages; and if philologists had been tied down to actual records there would have been no science of comparative philology. In the absence of documentary evidence there are other data by which the date of the formation of the language can be approximately ascertained, just as distances which cannot be directly measured can be calculated, with equal certainty if the calculation be correct. I have dealt with this evidence above, pp. 27-34; I will only add here one point which has a bearing on the

transmission of our poems. The orthography of the ninth century is not one that would have been invented at that time, but must have behind it a long literary tradition. As we have seen, pp. 130-1, a mutated consonant was represented by its radical. Now the change which resulted in the Welsh soft mutation had already set in in British itself; this is capable of mathematical demonstration, for the change is caused by vowels[1] flanking the consonant, and it takes place in Welsh in those positions where the consonant was vowel-flanked *in British*. Take for example the British *Maglo-cunos*, Old Welsh *Mail-cun*, Medieval and Modern *Mael-gwn*: the *c* is mutated to *g* in the last form because it stood between vowels in the first; the mutation is conditioned by the British, not by the Old Welsh, form. Though in writing it appears after the Old Welsh period, it cannot have arisen after that period, since *lc* of the pre-mutation period becomes *lch*, as in *calch* 'lime' from the Latin *calcem*. The initial mutations perhaps afford a still better proof: 'one son' is *un mab*, because in British it was **oinos mapos*, and the *m*- followed the *-s* of the masculine **oinos*; but 'one mother' is *un fam*, because in British it was **oinā mammā*, and the *m*- stood between vowels, coming after the feminine **oinā*. There is no other possible way of explaining the difference; and no possible conclusion but that the mutation goes back to British. The difference that thus arose in British and persists to day cannot have been obliterated at an intervening period; and the fact that the mutation is not written in Old Welsh simply means that the orthography did not represent differences of sound that existed in the spoken language. It shows that even the evidence of records may be quite misleading unless it is interpreted in

[1] I put it in the simplest form for the sake of clearness, but *l*, *r*, or *n* coming *after* the consonant has the same effect as a vowel.

the light of phonetic laws. Now the soft mutation of *m* was in Early Welsh an *m* pronounced loosely, on the way to *v*, but retaining its nasal character; it still sounded to the English as a sort of *m*; it became *m* on English lips, and remains as *m* in *Elmet* and *Leeming*, see pp. 71-2. But the mutated tenues (*p*, *t*, *c*) were heard as mediae (*b*, *d*, *g*) by the English and Irish; thus *trindod* from Latin *trīnitātem*, spelt *trintaut* in Old Welsh, was borrowed from Welsh and appears in Old Irish as *trindōit*;[1] so *Cadvan* from the British **Catu-mannos*, spelt *Catman(n)*[2] in Old Welsh, borrowed in the seventh century, appears as *Cædmon* in English; and the seventh-century Cadwallon was called by the English *Cædwalla*, though his name was spelt *Catguollaun*[3] much later in Old Welsh. As the difference between a mutated and an unmutated consonant arose in British, it must of course have existed in the sixth century; but it would necessarily be less marked at that time than later. Thus Old Welsh orthography, which can be traced back to the seventh century in the "Saxon Genealogies", is still more easily explicable as having been formed in the sixth. It must have been preserved almost unchanged down to the ninth century, and was used with but little modification for two centuries more. Two results follow: (1) It is not necessary to assume that sixth century poems were transmitted orally, and written down for the first time in the ninth century; the existence of a continuous literary tradition, which the orthography proves, makes it possible, and therefore probable, that they were transmitted in writing. (2) If our

[1] The final *-t* in Irish was sounded *d*, and the ending is *-ōid* in Modern Irish. It is only in the modern forms that it can be determined whether Old Irish written *t* was sounded *t* or *d*.

[2] *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, p. 170.

[3] Ibid., p. 157.

scribe's ninth century copy had been preserved, it would present us with the poems almost in the form in which they would have been written down in the sixth. The period that separated Taliesin from the ninth-century scribe would be about equal to that which separates Milton from us; Welsh orthography had changed probably less during that period than English orthography has since the seventeenth century; in the spoken language consonants had been somewhat modified, as vowels have been in English; but in the one case as in the other, the language was practically the same at the end as at the beginning of the period. Unfortunately, we have only a copy of the ninth-century manuscript made about four and a half centuries later, when it had become difficult to read, and was probably imperfect; it is, however, satisfactory to know that our oldest copy is only one step removed from one in which the poems were written, so far as the language is concerned, practically in their original form.

I have dealt above with the historical poems for the obvious reason that these alone contain direct evidence of their date, so that an examination of them must form the foundation of any discussion of the genuineness of the Taliesin poems. But there are others the claims of which will have to be considered if the claims of the historical poems are allowed. There is no absolute hard and fast line to be drawn between the historical and the mythological poems, for some of the latter contain references to Taliesin's contemporaries; thus "Daronwy", which speaks of the "magic wand of Mathonwy", also mentions Cynan and Rhun, pp. 28-9; and "Golychafi gulwyð", as we have seen above, p. 197, refers to the historical Brochvael, Urien, Maelgwn, Elphin, and to the mythological sons of Llŷr, and Lleu, Gwydion and Brân. There is thus evidence

that the author of the historical poems was in the habit of alluding to mythological characters. The allusions take for granted the reader's acquaintance with the mythology. Some of them are allusions to tales preserved in the Mabinogion; in "Cadeir Ceridwen", for example, the poet says that "Gwydion ap Dôn . . . conjured a woman out of flowers, and brought swine from the South . . . and formed horses and . . . saddles out of fungus", p. 36. These allusions are followed by others to tales which have been lost. The genuineness of the poem is not disproved by the fact that a pious passage has been added at the end, which contains a reference to Bede and late rhymes. Some of the allusions in the poems are to more primitive forms of the tales than the medieval versions of the Mabinogion: Manawyt and Pryderi know of the fairy region of Caer Siði; the passage is as follows (34·8):

> (Ys) kyweir vy*n*g kadeir y*n*g Kaer Siði;
> Nys plawð heint (a) heneint a vo yndi,
> Ys[1] gŵyr Manawyt a Phryderi;
> Teir oryan (^{y}) *H*a(m t)*vg*an[2] a gân recði,
> Ac am ŷ banneu[3] ffrydyeu gweilgi,
> A(r) ffynhawn ffrwythlawn ys (syð)[4] oðuchti;
> Ys whe(ga)ch[5] no(r) gwin gwyn y[6] llyn yndi.

> 'My chair is prepared in Caer Siði;
> The disease of old age afflicts none who is there.
> As Manawyt and Pryderi know;
> Havgan's three organs play before it,
> And about its peaks are the streams of ocean,
> And above it is a fruitful fountain;
> Sweeter than white wine is the liquor therein.'

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[1] *Ys*, formed of a conjunction of indefinite meaning, followed by the infixed pronoun *-s*, here meaning 'it'; in "Gweith Arg. Ll.", l. 9, p. 156, it is 'him'. In the *Nys* just above our *Ys* here, the *-s* is also 'him', the antecedent of the relative 'who', *nys* is thus 'not him' which I have rendered 'none'.

[2] In the text *y am tan* the *y* being a later addition above the line,

At the end of the poem, following this delightful bit of paganism, is a short prayer for reconciliation with the Most High, added no doubt by a reciter or copyist. In the Mabinogion, Manawyt has become Manawydan; the fairy realm preserves its mythic character, and even retains a trace of the idea which placed it under the sea, when we meet with it first in the story of Pwyll as *Annwfn*,[1] or the Bottomless, for the sovereignty of which Arawn and Havgan contend; but later, when Pryderi and Manawydan come to visit it, it has been rationalised and localised as the land of Dyved over which Llwyd vab Cilcoed has cast a spell. A direct reference to an early form of the tale occurs in another poem in an allusion to Caer Siδi as "the prison of Gweir" (if that be the correct reading), "according to the Story (*ebostol*) of Pwyll and

and so probably not in the copy. The above emendation implies that the reading in the copy was *hamcan* (i.e., in Medieval spelling *Hafgan*); if *c* was misread as *t*, it would become *am tan* 'around a fire', the *h* being treated like that of *ha* 'and', etc. Rhys (see ref. above, p. 198) rendered *am tan*, but confessed he did not understand it. It is an obvious misreading. There is just a question whether *Hafgan* should not be *Afgan*, with *H* due to popular etymology; it might possibly in that case be a diminutive of **Avac*, the monster of the lake (cf. *Avagδu*), whose name was made into *Avanc* (the word for 'beaver').

[3] *Banneu* has clearly its ordinary meaning of 'mountain tops'; I am not aware of any authority for the sense of "corners" given by Rhys, which seems to be a piece of rationalising.

[4] The medieval *yssyδ* takes the place of old *ys* or *yw*; see p. 174, note on l. 15.

[5] The old comparative of *chwey* was probably *chwech*, see *Gram.*, p. 249.

[6] If *whech* is the correct reading, the article must stand here; this is possible, since it is a semi-demonstrative, 'that liquor (which is) in it'.

[1] In our text, 20·8, *Annwf(y)n* is "under the earth" (*is elvyδ*). There were various conceptions as to the location of the other-world: under the earth; under the sea; in distant islands.

Pryderi", 54·19. The poem treats of an expedition, or expeditions, under Arthur to Caer Siđi, which seems also to be indicated by the other names, Caer Vedwit, Caer Rigor, etc.; mention is made of "the caldron of Pen Annwf(y)n, . . . which will not boil the food of a coward"—Pen Annwfn is the cognomen of Pwyll in the Mabinogion; and the title of the poem, in a later hand, but probably traditional, is *Preiđeu Annwn* 'the Spoils of Annwfn', which shows that Annwfn is only another name of Caer Siđi.[1] Alfred Nutt, in *The Voyage of Bran*, ii, pp. 13-17, compares the Mabinogion stories of Manawydan and Pryderi with the corresponding Irish tales, and says—

> It will, I think, be conceded that the Welsh and Irish stories owe their likeness to origin in a common body of mythic romance, the chief actors in which were the sea-god Manannan, and a supernaturally begotten semi-mortal son of his.

He then gives an account of the various theories that have been advanced as to the origin of the Welsh tales: briefly (1) they are derived from the common stock of Keltic mythology; (2) they were borrowed from the Irish of Gwynedd; (3) they were brought to Wales by Cunedda's men who had been in contact with the Irish of the North; (4) they were borrowed from the Irish story-tellers of the seventh and later centuries. On any theory but the last they were current in Wales in the sixth century, for Cunedda had come from the North, and had driven the

[1] *Siδi* is the Welsh equivalent of the Irish *sīd* 'fairy-land'. Its location under the sea in our poem (as in the Irish tale of Laegaire, where also are the music and the liquor, Nutt, *Bran*, i, 182-4) and the synonym Annwfn in Welsh suggest that the name is derived from **sēd-*, the long *ē* grade of the root **sed-*, since *ē* becomes *ī* in Keltic. The root means not only 'to sit' but 'to sink', etc. (e.g. *sed*iment, sub*sid*ence); and its long *ō* grade occurs in Welsh in *sawδ* 'subsidence, submergence', *soδi* 'to sink', in which also initial *s-* remains unreduced in Welsh. *Siδi* depends in the genitive on *Caer*, and would regularly represent a genitive **sīdiī* of a derivative in *-io-* of **sēd-*.

Irish out of Gwynedd about the year 400. But why all this assumption of borrowing? It rests on the perfectly gratuitous supposition that the British had no traditional lore of their own. If Keltic myth survived among the Irish, why did it *not* among the British? The answer is that it did; and the proof is in the tales themselves. The names of the characters provide a sufficent refutation of the borrowing theories: the name of *Manawyd*, for example, is quite a different formation from that of his Irish counterpart *Manannan*; the root is the same, but the difference of suffixes cannot be explained on any supposition of borrowing; thus while the later *Manawydan* shows the influence of the Irish name in the added suffix, the Welsh must have known of him as *Manawyd*, or its British equivalent, from the twilight of the gods in Keltic times. *Pwyll* and *Pryderi* cannot be derived from Early Irish, which had no *p*. The name of *Gwydion* son of Dôn, is purely Welsh in form, and has no Irish equivalent; his British godhood is reflected in *Caer Gwydion*, the Welsh name of the Milky Way. *Lleu*'s name, converted into *Llew* in the Mabinogion, is the equivalent of the Irish *Lug*; but it occurs also in Gaulish, the twin-sister of British; the continental *Lugu-dūnon*[1] which survives in *Lyons*, *Laon* and *Leyden*, occurs, with its elements reversed, not only in *Din-lle*(*u*) near Carnarvon, but in an old *Din-lle Ureconn*,[2] or Wrekin Dinlle, in a district where Irish influence cannot be assumed. Still less can *Lugu-balion* the old name of Carlisle, see p. 59, be assumed to be borrowed from Irish. The Irish had no monopoly in *Lug*; indeed, their language has no cognates of the name,[3] while Welsh has *lleu* 'light'

[1] *Λουγούδουνον . . . νῦν δὲ Λούγδουνον* 'Lyons', Dio Cassins; *Λουγόδουνον* 'Leyden', Ptolemy. [2] Red Book, col. 1047, *F.A.B.*, ii, 288. [3] Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 408.

B.A. 4·21, *go-leu* 'light', *lleu-fer* 'luminary', *lleu-ad* 'moon', *llew-ych* 'illumination', *llychwr* 'daylight' (above, p. 103). In the vocabularies of the two languages, where strict phonetic tests of origin can be applied, it is found that the borrowing is mainly on the side of Irish.[1] Borrowers of words are borrowers of ideas; but it is not necessary for my purpose to turn the tables and show that the theorists have confused creditors and debtors—it is sufficient to insist on the obvious truth that the two races *inherited* the fundamental conceptions of their respective mythologies from their common ancestor. Words generally persist only in association with ideas; and it is inconceivable that British names of British gods could have survived except in traditions concerning them. In our medieval versions the old tales have been edited and rationalised. "The very first thing that strikes one, in reading the *Mabinogion*," says Matthew Arnold, "is how evidently the mediæval story-teller is pillaging an antiquity of which he does not fully possess the secret."[2] It is also true, no doubt, that they contain elements which have been borrowed from Irish and other sources. But the allusions in our poems are not to the Mabinogion, but to more primitive versions of the stories with many details now lost.

Again, the mythological passages are not to be dissociated from the so-called "transformation" passages, or from the mystical passages which accompany both. Thus, "Kat Goðeu", 23·9, opens with a transformation passage beginning "I have been in many forms" (for the forms see above, p. 104); this is followed by mystical

[1] Man darf sagen, dass das Irische durch und durch mit britannischen Elementen versetzt ist. Es ist daher nicht zu erwarten, dass der irische Einfluss im Britannischen von sehr grossem Umfang wäre. —Pedersen, *Vergl. Gram.*, i, p. 24.

[2] *Celtic Literature*, p. 51.

passages consisting of the account of the battle of the trees, and the statement that the poet was not born of father and mother, but created out of flowers by the spell of Math, by the spell of Gwydion; thus mystical statements are directly connected with mythological allusions; these again are followed by another transformation passage, "I have been a speckled snake on a hill", etc., see above, p. 110. The poem "Angar Kyfyndawt", 19·1, contains a good deal of mysticism, or semi-mysticism, in the form of a profession of knowledge of the secrets of nature, containing lists of the things that he and the bards know, or that are recorded in their books: "How many winds, how many streams", etc., p. 114 above; "how wide the earth is, or how thick, ... what is arranged between heaven and earth", 20·23-5; "why a woman is affectionate, why milk is white, why holly is green, why a kid is bearded", 21·2; "how many days there are in a year, how many spears in a battle, how many drops in a shower," 22·1. Towards the end comes a transformation passage: "I have been a blue salmon, I have been a hound, I have been a stag," etc., 22·19. The poem contains one allusion to Gwydion, 22·3. But there are references in it to Elphin and to contemporary bards, which thus link it with the historical poems: the bards are Kian, 19·4, and Talhaearn, 20·4, 21·16, both of whom are mentioned in the "Saxon Genealogies" as flourishing at the same time as Taliesin;[1] see above p. 46, and frontispiece. The

[1] Mr. Williams has suggested to me that *Ef ae rin roðes*, 20·5, is a bungle in which the name of Aneirin is disguised, so that he also is named. The suggestion seems to me very probable. In Old Welsh *ei* is frequently written *e*, probably the oldest spelling of the diphthong: *Neirin* would thus appear as *nerin*; the scribe mistook the *n* for *a*, and himself inserted the *ef*, as in "Marwnad Rhun", see note on l. 25, p. 214. The correct reading on this supposition would be *Neirin a roðes.*

repetition in inverse order of the words of a half-line also occurs (*pet wynt pet ffreu, pet ffreu pet wynt*), as in the historical poem "Yng Ngorffowys", see above, p. 177. The first rhyme in the poem is *ymae / a ganho*; the old form of *canho* (3rd sg. pres. subj.) is *canhoe* (*Gram.*, p. 328); in *ymae* I had conjectured (ib., p. 349) that the original diphthong was *oe*, and, not having noticed this rhyme, had only the Cornish pl. *ymons* as confirmation (p. 350). The poem also contains the first example in the manuscript of the scribe's bungling over *ar guaut*, which he writes *an g6a6t* instead of *ar wawt*, see above p. 138; this proves that the poem was copied from a ninth-century manuscript, probably the same as the exemplar of the historical poems, in which the error is repeated.

At other times the poet asks questions, as in "Mabgyfreu Taliessin", 27·13, "Why is a night moonlit, and another [so dark] that thou seest not thy shield out of doors? . . . Why is a stone so heavy? Why is a thorn so sharp? Which is the better, the stem or its branches? . . . Who is better off [in] his death, the young or the grey-haired? Dost thou know what thou art when thou art sleeping, whether body or soul, or a bright angel? Skilled minstrel, why dost thou not tell me? Dost thou know where night awaits day? . . . . What supports the structure of the earth in perpetuity? The soul . . . who has seen it, who knows it? I marvel that in books they know it not indubitably. The soul . . . what is the shape of its limbs? . . . Death is established in all lands alike; death over our head, wide is its veil. . . . . Man is old when he is born, and younger always", 27·19-28·17. The poem ends with the usual added prayer which in this case is not even in verse. The reference to monks (*myneich*), 27·15, occurs in a corrupt line, and is probably a mis-reading, like *beirδ* for *dynion* in "Yng Ngorffowys",

l. 11, see p. 175 and note. There is one allusion to Dylan in the poem, 27·21; cf. p. 104 above. The expression *ar wawt* occurs in it, 28·9, correctly copied this time; but there is another example of confusion of *n* and *r* in 27·26, where *angel* appears as *argel*,[1] which suggests that this poem also has been copied from a ninth century original.

What is the meaning of it all? Dr. Evans believes that the mysticism "definitely marks the period of the composition of the poems" as the twelfth century. Why? Because "Under the year 1200 Richard of Hoveden breaks his narrative to give a brief summary of the maxims of the philosopher Secundus"! pp. xl-xli. The transformation passages, as we have seen, pp. 101-115, are treated by him as the cryptic autobiography of his twelfth-century Taliesin, of which he has spelt out enough to enable him to give "in outline the life of the bard", p. xxxiii. When that was all in print, he was "reminded" by Dr. Mary Williams[2] of the well-known parallel to these passages in a poem ascribed to the ancient Irish bard Amorgen. So he writes in his preface: "The transformation passages, which are a feature of Taliesin, have not been discussed," p. iii; and has the hardihood to declare, after learning of the parallel, that "It is fatuous folly to

[1] *argel canhwyt* is doubtless to be read *angel canneit*; the *-eit* is proved by the rhyme. This emendation has been made by Dr. Evans. Most of his emendations and renderings are, however, of the usual character. He did not know *canhwyt* 'thou seest' in the first quotation above; and took *yscwyt* 'shield' to be the Modern Welsh *ysgwyd* 'to shake,' which is *yscytweit* or *yscytwaw* in Medieval Welsh.

[2] This is acknowledged in a footnote to p. v. It shows that he had been writing for years on Taliesin without once looking up what Rhys has to say about him in his *Hibbert Lectures*. Rhys's theories may be erratic; but his *knowledge* was such that his books will long be indispensable to students of Keltic antiquity. Had Dr. Evans turned up "Taliesin" in the index of the *Hibb. Lect.* he would not need to have been "reminded" of Amorgen's verses by Dr. Mary Williams.

imagine that early Welsh literature is a thing apart", p. v. Amorgen's verse, he says, is "reputed to be the oldest in Irish", p. iv; instead of drawing the obvious conclusion that the same thing in Taliesin is probably old too, he merely suggests that Taliesin might have heard an Irishman repeating Amorgen's lines! "Griffyð" ap Kynan "could not grow up amid the culture and traditions of an Irish court without acquiring and spreading them", p. v. I do not intend to discuss this afterthought as to the origin of the transformation passages; I will only say that to my mind the idea that they belong to the twelfth century is too absurd for discussion, and that there is fair palaeographical evidence that they are at least as old as the ninth.

Amorgen's verses and the tradition concerning them are thus given by Nutt in the *Voyage of Bran*, ii, p. 91 :—

> When the sons of Mil invaded Ireland, they were led by Mil's son, the poet Amairgen. Setting foot upon the land he was about to conquer, Amairgen burst into song :—
>
> I am the wind which blows o'er the sea;
> I am the wave of the deep;
> I am the bull of seven battles;
> I am the eagle on the rock;
> I am a tear of the sun;
> I am the fairest of plants;
> I am a boar for courage;
> I am a salmon in the water;
> I am a lake in the plain;
> I am the word of knowledge;
> I am the head of the battle-dealing spear;
> I am the god who fashions fire in the head;[a]
> Who spreads light in the gathering on the mountain?[b]
> Who foretells the ages of the moon?[c]
> Who teaches the spot where the sun rests?[d]
>
> Glosses: [a]Fire = thought. "Of man" is understood. [b]Who clears up each question but I? [c]Who tells you the ages of the moon but I? [d]Unless it be the poet.

As to the date, Nutt writes as follows in a footnote to p. 92.

> In regard to the date of the poems ascribed to Amairgen it must be noted that they occur in those MSS. of the Lebor Gabála, or Book of Invasions, which gives what may be called the second edition of that work, that which makes Cessair the first immigrant into Ireland. The poems are however heavily glossed, and it is almost certain that they formed part of the original edition of the Lebor Gabála, which, known as it was to the early ninth century Nennius, must be a product of the eighth century at the latest. It is quite possible that the poems are as old substantially as the first coming of the Goidelic Celts to Ireland.

Without going so far as to endorse the last statement except in the very general sense that the underlying ideas are as old as that, I believe there can be no doubt about the antiquity of the above poem. The resemblance between it and the Taliesin poems from which I have quoted is closer than has been recognised; it is not limited to the transformation lines, but extends to the claim to occult knowledge expressed in the form of questions. I am not aware that anyone but Dr. Evans has suggested that either the Welsh or the Irish bard has borrowed from the other; the relation between them is that they have both inherited the same traditions, the existence of which in Britain is as certain as in Ireland, and, as we shall see, more directly attested. But d'Arbois de Jubainville[1] has propounded the theory which Rhys[2] has adopted, that Amorgen's "I am" retains a more archaic form of the underlying conception than Taliesin's "I have been". To adopt Nutt's concise summary, the argument is "that what is claimed for the poet is not so much the memory of past existences as the capacity to assume all shapes at will; this is what puts him on a level with and enables him to overcome his

[1] *Cycle mythologique*, pp. 244-6.

[2] *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 549.

super-human adversaries", loc. cit. It is seen that the proof rests on a mere speculation, not on facts; it is a lame attempt to get rid of the idea of transmigration. Rhys "fails to see the point of the brag" in Taliesin's "I have been", though one would have supposed that the claim to knowledge of previous states, and to possession of their attributes, is plain enough; but Amorgen's "I am" is clear to him, and he proceeds to speak as if "I am" obviously and naturally meant "I can, when I like, take the form of." If "I am" means all that,[1] how did it become "I have been" in Taliesin? This is inexplicable to Rhys; and he leaves it at that, without perceiving that a theory which fails to account for the facts stands self-condemned. If, on the other hand, we take Taliesin's "I have been" to represent the literal meaning, Amorgen's "I am" presents less difficulty; it is not perhaps the historic present, so much as the present that expresses the persistence of identity[2]— the emphasis is thrown on the possession of the attributes. Dr. Evans has obligingly quoted, p. iv, a rendering of some verses of Empedocles, containing the words "I have been a youth, and a maiden, and a bush, and a bird, and a gleaming fish in the sea", which show that the Pythagorean doctrine found expression a thousand years before Taliesin's time in a formula identical with his. That metempsychosis is the underlying conception in these passages is proved by the last quotation made above, p. 242, from "Mab-gyfreu Taliesin". The text is—

Hynaf vyð dyn pan anher, a ieu ieu pop amser,

---

[1] "When I make a word do a lot of work like that," said Humpty Dumpty, "I always pay it extra."—*Through the Looking Glass*, ch. vi.

[2] As we say of a man of 50 "He is a Llandovery boy" or "an Oxford man"; or, as we may say in Welsh, French and German "I am a member since 1900", when in English we have to say "I have been".

meaning 'man is oldest when he is born, and younger [and] younger always', which shows that the medieval scribe took it for a mere senseless paradox. But the metre is half-lines of five syllables: in the first half-line the copula *vyδ* should be omitted, and *hynaf*, due to the copyist's misunderstanding, reduced to *hên* 'old', which is more probable than *hŷn* 'older'; in the second, one *ieu* should be omitted; the line then reads

Hên dyn pan anher, a ieu pob amser,

'Man is old when he is born, and younger always'. Whether we read *hên* or *hŷn* is a mere matter of lucidity; the first statement can have no intelligible meaning except that man existed long before he was born. The second, I take it, means that he never attains in this life to the age at which he had arrived in previous existences when he was born.

This doctrine is patent in the transformation poems. The determined refusal to see it, and the resort to any shift—the assumption, for example, that "I have been" is a meaningless perversion of "I am", which in turn is assumed to be a cabalistic condensation of "I can, at will, assume the shape of"—rather than admit the plain meaning of plain words, spring from nothing but a false linguistic theory which relegates the poems to a comparatively late age. In that age they stand meaningless, isolated, irrelevant—an insoluble enigma to those who put them there.

Let us move them back to their traditional setting, within measurable distance of druidic times, and see what happens then. Take first Caesar's account of the teaching of the druids, B.G., vi, 14; I quote Professor Oman's free rendering, *England*, etc., p. 28:

> The chief doctrine of the Druids is that the soul does not perish, but at death passes from one body to another, and this

belief they consider a great incentive to courage, since the fear of annihilation may be put aside. They hold many discussions concerning the stars and their movements, about the size of the world and the universe, about nature, and about the power and attributes of the immortal gods.

The quotation is trite enough; but anyone who will look at it again and compare it with the above typical extracts from the mythico-mystical poems of Taliesin, must, I think, be impressed with the light it throws upon them. Caesar puts in the forefront, as the doctrine on which stress is specially (*in primis*) laid, the immortality and transmigration of souls; and transformation passages "are a feature of Taliesin". The words "they hold many discussions" are less vivid than the original *multa disputant*; in the poems we have echoes of bardic disputations concerning the measure of the earth and what supports it, and about natural problems (*de rerum natura*), with many allusions to the ancient gods. Caesar, it should be stated, is speaking of the druids of Gaul; but in the preceding section he states that it was generally believed that the system was invented in Britain and brought over to Gaul, and adds that in his own day those who wished to master it thoroughly went to Britain to learn it. The ideas associated with re-birth are, as Nutt has shown, implicit in traditional Irish literature; but here we have direct historical evidence that metempsychosis was the cardinal doctrine of the British predecessors of the Welsh bards.

The classical evidence concerning the religion of the Kelts has often been brought together; it is given in a convenient form by Nutt, op. cit., pp. 107-112.—(1) He cites first a quotation made by Clement of Alexandria from a lost work by Alexander Polyhistor, written between 82 and 60 B.C., to the effect that Pythagoras was a disciple of the Galatians and the Brahmins. This has no

value except as evidence of similarities of doctrine giving rise to the conjecture. (2) Then comes the testimony of Caesar quoted above. (3) Diodorus Siculus, about 40 B.C. (apparently quoting from Posidonius of Apamea, who wrote between 100 and 80 B.C., see *Mon. Hist. Celt.*, i, 1911, p. 314), says—

> Among them the doctrine of Pythagoras had force, namely, that the souls of men are undying, and that after achieving their term of existence they pass into another body. Accordingly at the burial of the dead, some cast letters, addressed to their departed relatives, upon the funeral pile, under the belief that the dead will read them in the next world.

The last sentence illustrates the vividness with which the belief in a future life was held by the Kelts; this is emphasized later by the statements of Valerius Maximus and Pomponius Mela that agreements were made for the repayment of loans and the settlement of accounts in the next world. (4) Ammianus Marcellinus quotes the Greek historian Timagenes, who wrote about 20 B.C., to the effect that the druids, following the precepts of Pythagoras, were organised in close corporations, busied themselves with questions of occult and other matters, and believed souls to be immortal. (5) Strabo, about 19 A.D. mentions the studies of the druids in natural science and moral philosophy, and states that they taught the immortality of souls. (6) Valerius Maximus, about 20 A.D., wrote of the druids,

> They would fain have us believe that the souls of men are immortal. I should be tempted to call these breeches-wearing gentry fools, were not their doctrine the same as that of the mantle-clad Pythagoras.

(7) Pomponius Mela, about 44 A.D., says that they profess to know the size and form of the earth and the world, the movements of the heavens and the stars, and the will of the gods, and teach that souls are undying, and that

there is another life in the shades (*ad Manes*). (8) Lucan's famous passage about the druids in the Pharsalia, written about 60-70 A.D., is quoted from Matthew Arnold's version, *Celt. Lit.*, p. 42 :

> To you only is given the knowledge or ignorance, whichever it be, of the gods and the powers of heaven. From you we learn that the bourne of man's ghost is not the senseless grave, not the pale realm of the monarch below ; in another world his spirit survives still ; death, if your lore be true, is but the passage to enduring life.

As Nutt points out, this version by no means gives the full force of the Latin. Lucan says that the same spirit animates a body (*regit artus*) in another world ; and "passage to" should be "centre of".

After making every allowance for repetition and indirect information, we can hardly avoid concluding from the evidence that metempsychosis formed the central doctrine of the druidic system. It was not the mere unreflecting belief in shape-shifting, with which the observers would be familiar in the folk-tales of other races, but the conscious formulation of the principle of transmigration, which reminded them of the teaching of Pythagoras. It represented a fixed point in the system, around which gathered many speculations, more or less fluid, about nature and the gods.

Belief in shape-shifting, or transformation, is universal among primitive races. It is not a doctrine, but an expression of the natural working of the primitive mind. It has not spread, like a rumour, from race to race, but has sprung up spontaneously everywhere. Primitive man has a dim conception of something that constitutes a person's identity, the essence of his being, the thing that says "I". But it is conceived of as purely material. When a man is turned into a dog, it is his human body that has assumed a dog's shape—that is why he is the same person.

The notion survives in tales of re-birth where some portion of the person's body,—his blood, his heart, his ashes,—is consumed by the woman who is to become his mother. The Welsh tales are full of shape-shifting. Lleu is wounded and flies away as an eagle, but the eagle has the wound. Llwyd's wife and her maidens turn themselves into mice; she is pregnant, so is the mouse which she becomes. This is transformation pure and simple. But the druids do seem to have taken the next step, and to have abstracted the soul. Transformation of the body became transmigration of the soul. Physical continuity was no longer a necessary condition of the persistence of identity; the principle of persistence resided in the soul, which was thus conceived to be immortal. But the soul must still be clothed in a body, and when one body is worn out or destroyed it acquires another. Hence previous existence in various bodies, animate and even inanimate. Hence also a future existence, perhaps in another body in this world, but ultimately in an ever-young body in a happier world. The conception of metempsychosis is, as Nutt has shown, too old and widespread among the Kelts to have been borrowed from Pythagoreanism through the Greeks of Marseilles. Greek metempsychosis is a parallel development. The same original ideas resulted in Thrace in Orphicism and the Dionysiac mysteries, participation in which enabled the initiate to free his soul from the trammels of the body, "to have a respite from woe". Pythagoras did not invent his doctrine; he systematized the Orphic beliefs. "The strong likelihood," says Nutt, op. cit. p. 134, "that the affinity between the Greek and Celtic Elysium myths is due to prehistoric community rather than to historic contact justifies a similar presumption in the case of the re-birth myths." Perhaps the classical writers, when they compared the druidic doctrine

to that of Pythagoras, were wiser than they knew. The whole matter is discussed very fully by Nutt[1] in the *Voyage of Bran*, vol. ii.

The druids had, no doubt, elaborated a crude system of philosophy; but verse is not the proper vehicle for ratiocination. The bards dealt with the same subjects poetically, that is, allusively and emotionally. In our poems we seem to have an echo of the old bardism. The poet refers to questions of natural philosophy not to solve them, but to bring out the wonder and romance of knowledge, and the power of its possessor, generally himself. He tells "the fairy tales of science", as science was then understood. The old conception of the other-world had a fascination for him; his chair was ready in Caer Siði, where no one is afflicted with the disease of old age. His treatment of pre-existence is fanciful, not philosophical: the lists of his metamorphoses are largely suggested by the rhyme. He deals with the old mythology for its poetical value, as Christian bards have ever done; he mentions the gods chiefly in relation to his pre-existence: he was with Dylan in a fortress; he was with Brân in Ireland; he sang before the sons of Ll̥ŷr at Aber Henvelen. We are now able to understand such a passage as the following, 25·21 (see above, p. 109):

> It was not of father and mother that I was made (*digonat*). In the beginning (*am creu*, cf. *dechreu*) I was created out of nine elements; of fruits, ... of primroses, of the flowers of the hill . . . of earth . . . of water was I made . . . I was brought into existence by the spell of Math before I was on earth (*kyn bum*

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[1] The discussion is unnecessarily complicated, so far as the use made of the Taliesin poems is concerned, by the author's acceptance of the theory that the oldest of them "may go back to the ninth or eighth centuries," p. 86, and of Rhys's theory that Taliesin is a myth.

> *diaeret*; read *daeret*, 2 syll.), and by the spell of Gwydion the great enchanter of the Britons.[1]

He was in existence long before he was born; he was created out of fruits and flowers, earth and water by Math and Gwydion, the great enchanters among the gods, who, according to a tale to which he refers elsewhere (p. 36; W.B.M., c. 100), fashioned a wife for Lleu out of the blossoms of the oak, and the blossoms of the broom, and the blossoms of the meadow-sweet.

I have to content myself with discussing the mythical and mystical poems, and the very interesting questions arising out of them, thus in mere outline. A full discussion would unduly expand this volume and delay its appearance. But I think enough has been said to show that these poems, which were mist and mystery to those who looked at them through glasses focussed on the ninth century, become clear when we focus for distance; and the mist, with most of the mystery, vanishes.

I must also forego for the present any attempt to discuss the Taliesin legend and its relation to the mystic poems. To Rhys, who even made myths of Urien and Owein ap Urien, Taliesin was of course a myth. I will only say that the sixteenth-century tale of Taliesin does not prove it. Similar stories were current of Pythagoras at an early age in Greece; he had been Euphorbus in the Trojan war, and had passed through many metamorphoses. The tale of Hopkin ap Philip no more disposes of Taliesin than that of Heraclides of Pontus disposes of Pythagoras.

Before leaving the mystico-mythical poems I would point out that the very difference between them and the

[1] I have omitted only amplifications and virtual repetitions. The only doubtful expression is *o brython* 'of Britons,' which may have been substituted for *dyneðon* 'of men' or some other phrase indicating more clearly the divine character of the enchanter.

eulogies and elegies points to the genuineness at least of the latter. It is improbable that a medieval forger would refrain from attempting to colour his counterfeit eulogies with what he conceived to be the "opinions" of Taliesin. In reality, however, eulogy to be acceptable had to be realistic and unambiguous, not allusive and mystical. It was a branch of bardism that had been practised from time immemorial; and its rules were well understood. Praise of princes did not originate with the *praecones* whom Gildas describes, for Posidonius of Apamea bears witness to it as flourishing at the beginning of the first century B.C.:

> The Celts, even when making war, are accompanied by a class known as parasites, who dine with them. These men sing their praises before large assemblies, and also to any individual who cares to listen to them. They have also a class known as Bards (Βάρδοι), who play the music. These, too, are poets and set out their virtues in odes.—*Mon. Hist. Celt.*, i., p. 331.

The poems dealt with above are those which seem to me to have a claim to be considered genuine. To prevent any possible misapprehension, I desire to emphasise the statement already made that I by no means regard all the poems in the Book of Taliesin as being likely to be in any sense as old as the sixth century. Mr. Ifor Williams has shown that the long poem "Armes Prydein Vawr", 13·2, belongs to the ninth or early tenth century, see above p. 53. All references to Cadwaladr, and so probably the poems containing them, are late; I see from Dr. Evans's index that the name does not occur between pages 31 and 74, where most of the poems dealt with above are found; it comes then in 76, 77, 78, and 80. These last poems, with their references to Gwyðyl Ffichti and Norðmyn Mandi, are obviously late. Poems dealing with Alexander and Irish myths, and the plagues of Egypt, as well as the religious poems, I should guess to be late. The Song of

the Wind, 36·21, which Dr. Evans believes to be the earliest composition of *his* Taliesin, is late; it rhymes *traet* with *gwaet*, and *troet* with *coet*—in Early Welsh *troet* and *traet* were *troγet* and *traγet*, rhyming with *-et*, *Gr.* 32; and it rhymes *yma* (*ymann*) with *da* (*daγ*). It has nothing in common with the mystical poems; it is, in fact, an ordinary riddle. I quote the three opening lines and three others:

> Dechymic pwy yw: creat cyn dilyw,
> Creadur cadarn heb gic, heb ascwrn,
> Heb wythen, heb waet, heb pen a heb traet . . .
> Ef ymaes. (ef) yng koet, heb law a heb troet . . .
> Ac ef yn gyflet ac wyneb tydwet . . .
> Ef ar vôr, (ef) ar tir, ny wŷl, ny welir.

> 'Guess what it is: created before the flood,
> A mighty creature, without flesh, without bone,
> Without veins, without blood, without head, without feet . . .
> In field, in forest, without hand, without foot . . .
> And it is as wide as the face of the earth . . .
> On sea, on land, it sees not, is not seen.'

With which we may compare the following riddle from the *Flores*[1] of Bede:

> Dic mihi quae est illa res quae caelum totamque terram replevit, silvas et surculos confringit, omniaque fundamenta concutit, sed nec oculis videri aut manibus tangi potest. (Solution: Ventus).

There are other "wind" riddles, such as Aldhelm's, beginning—

> Cernere me nulli possunt, nec prendere palmis.[2]

The "Song of the Wind" clearly belongs to this class of composition. But Dr. Evans, despite his predecessors'

[1] Quoted by G. A. Wood, in a paper on "The Old English Riddles" in *Aberystwyth Studies*, i, 1912, p. 42, who gives the reference Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, xc, 539 ff.

[2] G. A. Wood, op. cit., p. 41. The reference given in the bibliography, p. 8, to Aldhelm's riddles is Migne, vol. lxxxix.

correct renderings, chose to strike the key-note of his volume of "translation" by beginning with a flagrant mistranslation of the first half-line of this song, which he renders "Whose idea was the wind?" He has obviously never heard an old Welsh folk-riddle. In Anglesey, old riddles are still repeated, beginning with the words *Dychymig dychymig*,[1] 'Guess the riddle'; thus:

Dychymig dychymig: mi gollais fy mhlant,
Fesul chwech ugain a fesul chwe chant.

'Guess the riddle: I have lost my children,
By the six score and by the six hundred,'

the solution being "a tree that has shed its leaves". In England the riddle became an important branch of literary composition in the seventh and eighth centuries, a large number of Latin riddles being written by Aldhelm, Eusebius (Hwætberht), Tatwine and Boniface. The Old English riddles formerly attributed to Cynewulf are now said to have been composed in the early eighth century.[2] The rhymes above quoted from the "Song of the Wind" make it impossible that this riddle can be anything like as old as that; but the use of the old subjunctive *gwnech* and the *proest* instead of rhyme in the second line take it back to the Old Welsh period well before the twelfth century. It is, of course, not a *Volksrätsel*, or folk-riddle, but a *Kunsträtsel*, which we may term a literary riddle, of the kind in which "attention is so centred upon grace and truth of description that the theme is . . . but thinly veiled, and identification comparatively easy" and "in which much of the mystery is lost in the joy of imagina-

[1] The second *dychymig* is the noun 'riddle', as in Barnwyr, xiv, 12 (Judges, xiv, 12). In the collections in *Cymru'r Plant*, i, 1892, one riddle from Llandecwyn, p. 17, and two from "Eryri", p. 327, begin with *Dychymig dychymig*, and one from Conway, p. 159, with *Dychymig fi* 'Guess me'.

[2] G. A. Wood, op. cit., p. 30.

tive delineation."[1] The Welsh medieval bards cultivated such delineation, which they called *dyfalu*, and which culminates in the strings of similes in the cywyddau of Dafydd ap Gwilym.

Since the time of Sharon Turner it has been well known that some of the poems in the collection are later than others. I think I have shown above that the view that the earliest of them are not older than the eighth or ninth century was originally arrived at on grounds external to the poems themselves. It has not proceeded from any knowledge of Welsh metrics, or any close critical study of the text, for which, perhaps, the time was not ripe. In recent years much good work has been done on the vocabulary of the old poetry by Mr Ifor Williams in his study of Aneirin, see p. 35 fn., and by Professor Loth. It is matter of common knowledge that the meanings and explanations of old words given by Pughe in his dictionary are not to be relied upon; but it is not so generally realised that he guessed wholesale. Sometimes he borrows his meanings from some of the old glossaries, which, however, are largely guesswork too. But he never mentions any authority, or gives any indication whether he is recording a fact, a tradition, or his own guess; there is no "perhaps" or "probably" in his columns; he is the perfect charlatan who is omniscient. By setting down his baseless conjectures with the same solemn assurance as the most ordinary facts, he has deceived even scholars in the past. The whole of the old vocabulary must be thoroughly overhauled, and no meanings taken on trust. Silvan Evans has brought together a good number of examples of some words, but, as we have seen, he is too ready to accept the guesses of his prede-

[1] G. A. Wood, op. cit., p. 10.

cessors instead of studying his examples. The twelfth century poets use a large number of words which are obsolete in medieval prose; in this they are clearly following a poetic tradition, so that their works are of great value for the study of the old vocabulary. For this reason the whole of the *Myvyrian* poetry should be carefully indexed; this has been done partially by Mr. Williams for the purpose of his study of Aneirin; I understand that Mr. Gwynn Jones proposes to do it systematically after collating the text with the original manuscripts where possible. This is the kind of work that has to be carried out before we can make the most effective use of the material available for the study of the ancient poems. As regards the study of Taliesin, I fully recognise that the work done in the above pages is only a beginning, even in the case of the poems dealt with in some detail. I have been largely occupied with the necessary preliminary work of clearing the ground of rubbish. But I intend, if I am spared, to pursue the investigation, and possibly some years hence, with the kind permission of the Editor, to return to the subject in the pages of the *Cymmrodor*.

This paper has been written during such time as I could spare from other duties in the last sixteen months; it was printed as it was written, the copy being sent to the Editor in driblets of ten or twelve pages at a time. I owe a deep debt of gratitude to Sir Vincent Evans for the infinite trouble he has taken with the volume; for corrections in copy and proof; and for much valuable and helpful advice. The work owes its inception largely to his love of the great traditions of Wales: and its gradual development, often in unforeseen directions, to his kind encouragement. I am indebted to Mr. Ifor Williams, who read the first proofs of the whole volume, for many

corrections and valuable suggestions; the discussion of many details with him has contributed to the soundness of the whole; and I have been saved many hours of search by his kindness in supplying me with references from his index of the *Myvyrian*. My best thanks are also due to Dr. John Edward Lloyd, who read most of the first proofs, for the correction of errors in historical details, and several references and valuable hints. It is seen that care has been taken to ensure accuracy of statement; but I have sometimes made alterations in the second proofs, and have not always followed advice, so that no one is reponsible for the errors that remain but myself. Lastly I have to thank Mr. Shankland for the help he has always so readily rendered by placing at my disposal his wide and discerning knowledge of the resources of the library of the University College of North Wales.

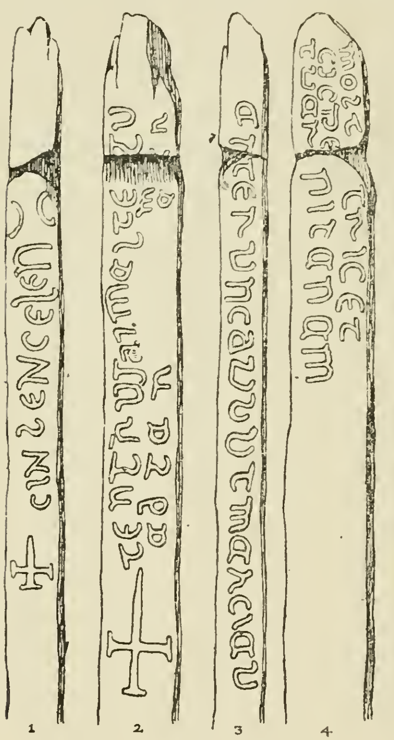
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s 2

APPENDIX I.

THE STONE OF CINGEN.

This stone, which was in the churchyard at Towyn, Merioneth, early in the last century (*Cambro-Briton*, ii, 1821, p. 121), and is now in the church, has been called the "Stone of St. Cadfan", doubtless because the church is dedicated to Cadfan, and perhaps because an older antiquary thought, like Ab Ithel, that *guadgan* on the stone was an old spelling of Cadfan! It need hardly be said that the stone has nothing whatever to do with Cadfan. It was described by Westwood in *Arch. Camb.*, 1850, pp. 90-5, and interpreted by the "philological skill" (ib., p. 95) of Ab Ithel, pp. 96-100. It had previously been figured by Edward Lhuyd in Gibson's Camden, p. 622, according to Westwood, *Lap. Wall.*, p. 158; the edition is not named. but it must be the second, 1722, whence it was copied into Gough's Camden; I have not seen these engravings, as the Bangor Library contains only the first edition of Gibson's Camden, and no copy of Gough's. Pennant gives an engraving of the stone in his *Tour in Wales*, ii, 1784, plate v, from a drawing in Lhuyd's papers, as he says, p. 93; but the drawing differs somewhat from the Gibson engraving according to Westwood's description. Westwood's engraving in the *Arch. Camb.*, 1850, opp. p. 90, was made by means of the *camera lucida* from rubbings of the stone; and his lithograph in *Lap. Wall.* is a mere copy of it. Hübner's engraving, *Inscr. Christ. Brit.*, 126, is, like the accompanying block, a reduced reproduction of a tracing of it.



Rhys wrote a short note on the stone in *Arch. Camb.*, 1874, p. 243, as stated above, p. 232. In the vol. for 1897, pp. 142-6, he discusses it more fully, and suggests that it is not genuine. I was under the impression that he had written the second article, but was misled by a footnote in *Lives of Brit. Saints*, ii, p. 7. which refers to the latter article as if it were the former. Hence I did not see the longer article until these notes were written and set up; in some respects it confirms conclusions to which I had come; in the following paragraphs references to it, added in proof, are included in square brackets.—In this second article Rhys gives drawings of the four sides of the stone, correcting Westwood's engraving as reproduced here. The fracture on face 4 comes between the *l* and *t* of *molt*, through the stem of *p*, and between the *a* and *r* of *tuar*. Other points are noticed below. But in some respects Westwood's drawings are obviously better; the *gu* at the top of side 2 is given in Rhys's drawing as a slightly irregular *n*, but in his transliteration he reads it *gu*, and makes no mention of the discrepancy!—Rhys could make nothing of the inscription; side 3 he thinks "is a jumble cut by somebody who had a superficial acquaintance with Old Welsh", p. 145, rather a desperate conclusion. Sides 1 and 2 he thinks may be genuine, but "though there is uniformity of lettering throughout", he thinks these "may have served as models for the lettering of the rest"; and this suggestion is made only because he could not "divine its meaning", p. 146. Why was the ɴ not imitated? But the idea that old lettering could thus be perfectly imitated, and used to inscribe nonsense is too absurd to consider seriously.

There are clearly two inscriptions on the stone, beginning with the crosses. Westwood suggested several possibilities as to sides 3 and 4; Ab Ithel took 3 to be the continuation of 1, and 4 the continuation of 2, reading in each case over the top of the stone. Why over the top? It seems more natural to suppose that the adjacent sides belong together.

I.

Side 1, with its two uncial ɴ's appears to be the earliest inscription; and it seems as if the two lines in large lettering on side 4, the next side to the left, were the continuation of it. The two marks after *celen* are more likely to denote that the inscription is to be continued. than to mark its end. The three lines in small letters at the top of 4 were probably added later. If this is so, the first inscription is—

† cɪɴgeɴ celen	That is:	Cynien's body
tʀɪcet		lies
nitanam		beneath

With regard to the reading there is only one doubtful point. Westwood took the IN in *Cingen* to be a ligatured UN; and in Pennant's figure the bottom of the I is actually joined to the N, which, if correct, would imply the ligature. *Cungen* is a possible old spelling of the name. On the other hand Westwood's drawing shows no connexion, so that it seems safer to read *Cin*, as Hübner does. [Rhys also reads *Cin.*]

There seems to be no doubt about the *g*. It was probably of the same shape as the other *g*'s—an Insular *g* with the hook inverted. Westwood shows the continuation of the top stroke in dotted lines as if it were faint or worn; [Rhys in his drawing gives the whole top stroke boldly, as if there were no doubt about it, but curiously says that "it may possibly be a *c*".]

Ab Ithel, op. cit. p. 100, believed that this *Cingen* was Cyngen the father of Brochvael, and grandfather of our old friend Cynan Garwyn, see above p. 201; he calls him "the son of Cadell", confusing him with the ninth-century Cyngen; he means Cyngen ap Mawgan, who lived in the early part of the sixth century and was a contemporary of Cadfan. Hence the stone was supposed to belong to the first half of the sixth century, though the lettering clearly indicates a later date. The fact is, this *Cingen* is not the same name as that of Cyngen ap Mawgan; this has old medial *g* which would now be consonantal *i*, see p. 201, fn. 2; the *-gen* of this name is the same as that of *Urbgen* which is now *Urien*; while the name of Cyngen ap Mawgan has old medial *c*—it was spelt *Cincen*, see p. 201, or in full *Cincenn* as in the Book of St. Chad, p. 141, l. 4, see p. 269 below. The phonetic history of the two names may be summarised thus:

British	(1) *Cuno-genos*	(2) *Cuno-cennos.*
Old Welsh	(1) *Cingen*	(2) *Cincenn.*
Modern Welsh	(1) *Cynien*	(2) *Cyn-gen.*

Note that the *ng* of the second name in its modern form are sounded as in *Ban-gor*, or like the *ng* of the English *finger*. But the name on our stone is the first, and would now be *Cynien*. In Old Welsh records the names are sometimes spelt with *o* in the first syllable under Irish influence; and both names occur together repeatedly in Llyfr Llan Daf: *Concen* abbatem Catoci, . . *Congen* abbatem Ilduti, p. 152; *Concen* abbas Carbani vallis . . . *Congen* abbas Ilduti, 154 and 155. It might be worth while examining the Trallong stone again to see whether in the inscription *Cunocenni filius Cunoceni* the last *c* has not a tag which makes it *g*, as it is rare in these inscriptions to find father and son of the same name. [Rhys does not know

the name with *g*, and writes as if the *g* on the stone could represent original *c* at this early period.]

celen is the medieval *celein* (modern *celain*) 'dead body'. As noted above, p. 241 fn., and below p. 272, note 15, *e* is probably the oldest spelling of the diphthong *ei*, so that *celen* is quite regular for *celein*. The construction in *Cingen celen* is the same as that in *Taliesin gân* 'Taliesin's song', etc., see p. 121.

tricet is probably 3rd sg. pres. ind., being an old middle form with *-et* from **-eto*. As *-et* is an imperative ending it became obsolete in the indic., only *-it* and *-awt* remaining as long forms in that mood.

nitanam. The modern *o dan* 'under' is for Old Welsh *guotan*, in which the element denoting 'under' is *guo-* (cognate with Latin *sub*); the *tan* is also found in *am dan*, where *am* determines the meaning 'about'. The determining element here is **ni* 'under', which survives in English *nether*, *be-neath*. The form *ni-tan* was ousted by *guo-tan* in Welsh, but it seems to survive in the Breton *in-dan*, Medieval Bret. *endan* 'under', probably for *n̥-dan* from *nĭ-dan*.

As for the suffix *-am*, this occurs in Old Welsh for the medieval *-aw* in *racdam* gloss on 'sibi', and *-aw* is used abverbially in *heibiaw* from *heb*. But the *-am* is more probably the 1st sg. form, modern *-af*; the first singular is used adverbially in *isof* 'below', *uchof* 'above' (as well as the more usual 2nd sg. *isod*, *uchod*). In any case *nitanam* is clearly the adverb 'beneath'.

II.

The second inscription, on sides 2 and 3, seems to consist of proper names. There can be no doubt about the first six letters *tengru*. Westwood reads the next letter as *g*; but it is so unlike the other *g*'s on the stone that this is at least doubtful. In Pennant's engraving it appears as ꞁ, and I am inclined to read it as *i*. [Rhys's drawing gives it as ı, that is, ordinary *i*.] The next letter is read *ci* by Westwood, and it appears as *ci* in Pennant's drawing: but in Gibson's Camden it is given as *n*, and Westwood says "it looks like *n*". Clearly it is *n*, and the small circle read as *c* must be accidental. [The circle thus guessed to be "accidental", i e., not part of the inscription, is according to Rhys "a hole made for a gate-hinge", p. 144. Still Rhys thought the *n* was *ci*; he thought the *c* ran through the hole, and did not see the first stroke of the *n*.] The first eight letters then read tengʀuꞁn.

The initial *t-* may be the honorific prefix, as in *T-eilo*, etc., leaving *engruin* for the name. Where *ng* had not disappeared in prehistoric times before *r* it tends to become *gg*, which gives Old Welsh *c*, modern *g* (see *Gram.*, p. 151): and *ui* in the last syllable may become *y* as in *meheryn* from Old Welsh *maharuin*, *numyn* from *namuin*, etc. Hence

engruin may be an old form of *Egryn* (late Old Welsh *Ecrin*). *Llan Egryn* is close by; and "there is in the parish, to the north-east of the church, a place known, as early as the time of Elizabeth and James I, as Croes Egryn, but there is no cross there now", *Lives of Brit. Saints*, ii, p. 415. May not this be the missing cross?

The next name seems to be malted, the *d* lost in the fracture being supplied from the drawings of Lhuyd, who saw the stone before it was broken. This would be *Malltedd* in Modern Welsh: the name that comes nearest is *Mallteg* in *Llan-fallteg*. If the missing letter was c the names would be identical; and we have only Lhuyd's evidence for the *d*.

The *gu* at the end of the line seems to be connected with the *adgan* in the next line, giving *guadgan*. This would be *Gwaddian* in Modern Welsh. As *gwa-* and *go-* interchange, the name may be the same as that of St. *Gothian* (found also as *Guoidiane* and *Guidiane*), now called *Gwithian* in Cornwall, *Lives of Brit. Saints*, iii, pp. 249-51. [Rhys is again astray in his phonetics when he supposes that *adgan* may be the equivalent of a later *Adgan* or *Atgan*.]

The small letters at the end are given by Lhuyd as $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{mc}\\ \text{cRta.}\end{array}\right.$ The last letter however in our drawing from the rubbing is more like R then *a*; and the first in that line is probably *a* (not *c*). Westwood, after giving the above reading of Lhuyd, ignores the *c* after the *m*, giving no reason at all for omitting it in his reading; it occurred, of course, like the *r* underneath it, and part of the *t*, in the part of the stone chipped off. [Rhys's drawing shows the beginning of the *c* after the *m*, and he says that in the last line "before the *a* there would seem to have been a *t*". I should guess the *c* after the *m* to have been an *a*; can the supposed *t* have been *p*, making *map*? But these two short lines are too imperfect to be interpreted; and in any case probably represent a later addition, like the short inscription at the top of side 4.]

On side 3 the imperfect second letter looks like the beginning of an *r*; but Lhuyd, who saw it whole, read it *n*. [Rhys also believes it to be *n*.] Rhys thought he found traces of an *n* at the end, completing the name *Marciaun*. [Westwood could not find the *n*, and Rhys in 1897 "looked for it in vain". Can it be an unfinished name, or was there a contraction mark for *n* originally above the *u*?] The reading then is—

anteRunc dubut maRciau(n)

It is not easy to explain *anterunc*; but for a reason that will appear later I guess it to be not a name but a preposition or adverb. Original *inter* is *ithr* in Old Welsh, but when compounded it is *athr*, as in *cyf-athr-ach*, and in *athrywyn* from Latin *interren-*; the form

athr implies British *anter*, which may have survived in Early Welsh. The second element *unc* may be the second element of *rh-wng* (from **per-ong-* or **per-onk-*; the *k* is implied in the *th* instead of δ in *rhyngthaw*, etc.). The literal meaning would be that of *rhwng* 'between'; and it might denote 'including' or 'together with', cf. p. 66 above.

Dubut is either an abbreviation of *Dubutuc*, or a short form without the suffix *-uc*. The name *Dubutuc* occurs in the Latin genitive as *Dobituci* and in Ogam as *Dovatuceas*: in Modern Welsh it is *Dyfodwg*, and in Irish *Dubthoch* or *Dubthach* (now *Duffy*), *Lives of Brit. Saints*, iv, p. 291.

Rhys identified *Marciau(n)* with the name which is in Old Welsh *Merciaun*, in Medieval Welsh *Meirchawn*, and now *Meirchion*. The language of the inscription is pre-Old, or Early Welsh.

III.

Lastly there comes the little inscription at the top of side 4. The first line is clear, molt. The second character in the second line was read *l* by Westwood, which seems to me most improbable. It looks more like the contraction for *et* 'and'. [In Rhys's drawing as in Pennant's there is no curve at the bottom, but the down stroke is straight; it is thus still more like 7, the symbol for 'et', which might be right-angled, as in Hübner, op. cit., no. 175. Rhys places it nearer the second *c*, so that the two resemble 7c, that is 'etc.', all the more. He however reads the symbol as *i*.] Though Westwood acknowledged the third letter was *c* (i.e. not a complete circle), he insisted on reading it as *o*; and the clear *p* after it (given so by Lhuyd) he would have to be *d*, because, of course, he did not know the Welsh word *petuar* 'four', which is as plain there as if it had been written yesterday. I read this inscription then—

molt
e⁊cpe
tuaʀ

The word *mol* is probably the Medieval Welsh *moll* 'tomb', as seen in B.B. 20·8: in Old Welsh *ll* was written *l*, cf. p. 134, fn. 2. The six letters at the end are *petuar* 'four' as already noted. In Old Welsh this word is spelt *petguar*; but *g* was never pronounced in the word; in Old Welsh orthography *gu* was the conventional symbol for consonantal *w*, treated as the mutation of *gw*. Though *gu* is old, the unconventional *petuar* here is another indication that the inscription is earlier than the Old Welsh period.

If the first word is *mol* 'tomb' and the last *petuar* 'four', what are the letters that come between them? My guess is as follows:

mol t c & c petuar, that is, 'the tomb of T(egryn), C(ynien) et c(eteri) four (and four others)'. The four others would be Malted, Guadgan, Dubut and Marciaun, leaving *anterunc* as a connective.

[Rhys reads "*molt cic petuar*, which means either 'the mutton flesh of four' or 'a wether (is) flesh of *or* for four'", p. 145. His usual sense of humour deserted him here. I may say that at first *moltcic petuar* 'mutton for four' haunted me, not as a possibility, but as a sort of mocking parody of the unknown solution. It seemed too incongruous to be considered seriously as a possible reading of an inscription on a tombstone. Whatever the solution is, it surely cannot be this.]

IV.

There is of course much that is doubtful in the above attempt at explaining the stone—it is not to be expected that what has baffled all previous attempts should yield its secret all at once. But the first inscription is, I think, clear; and it is enough for my present purpose, because it is an example of *Welsh*, not British, carved in the seventh century.

If my conjecture as to *Egryn* is correct, the stone can perhaps be approximately dated. Egryn is said to be the son of Eneilian daughter of Cadfan ab Iago (the prince, not the saint). This Cadfan died early in the seventh century; his son the great Cadwallon (*Cædwalla*) died, according to the Annales Cambriae, in 631; we should therefore probably not be far wrong in supposing that Egryn, Cadfan's grandson and Cadwallon's nephew, died about 660.

There was no tradition of Welsh being carved in Roman capitals: it had only been written in half-uncial script. Script forms were already in use in Latin inscriptions. The Llanillteyrn stone (Hübner, no. 64) attributed by Rhys probably to the sixth century, has in *Vendumagli* the uncial ϵ of this stone, and *d* like that of *dubut* side 3; but its *g* is a good Insular form. The *Catamanus* inscription at Llangadwaladr, in memory of Cadfan ab Iago, probably carved soon after his death—there seems to be no ground whatever for the supposition that it was set up by his grandson Cadwaladr—has uncial ϵ with the cross stroke not touching the back [as Rhys draws two of the *e*'s on this stone]; it has the R with the curved second part horizontal: it has the square-bottomed u; and the last *m* of *omnium* is minuscule m as here; Hübner's plate is a poor drawing of this inscription (no. 149). The *u*'s on the Llangaffo stone (Hübner, no. 148) are still more like our u's; one *e* is minuscule, the others uncial like our *e*'s; but the Llangaffo stone has not been dated.

[I do not think Rhys realised the importance of this inscription. He recognised in 1897 that it was Welsh; but refrained from sug-

gesting an approximate date. His treatment of it is rather perfunctory; he does not explain how his drawing was made, or refer to the differences between it and Westwood's, or even between it and his own readings. The stone should be carefully examined again, and new drawings made. It could not be done for this paper without causing much delay.]

I append a note on the lettering by Professor Lindsay.

NOTE.

The writing on this stone is half-uncial, of much the same type as the writing of the Book of St. Chad (which in my *Early Welsh Script*, p. 3, p. 4, I have absurdly called "uncial"). The persistent use of uncial *e* (ϵ) may be due to the difficulty of cutting the "bow" of half-uncial *e* (e) on stone. The two uncial *n*'s in *Cingen* in contrast to the half-uncial *n* of *celen*, etc., may be a deliberate discrimination of the name from the rest of the sentence, the equivalent in fact of our

CINGEN
lies here.

That an inscription with two uncial *n*'s and the remaining *n* half-uncial must be older than an inscription with all the *n*'s half-uncial is not impossible, but by no means certain. For scribes found half-uncial *n* an awkward letter sometimes. In particular the combination *in* was so like *m* that some Insular scribes preferred iN (with uncial *n*) while others wrote In (with tall *i*). And half-uncial *n* so resembled half-uncial *r* that Continental scribes used uncial *n* in their half-uncial script, while Insular scribes often substituted "cursive" *r* (with the shaft projected below the line). In short, if an uncial letter is to show its face in half-uncial script, one may expect the letter to be *n*.

W. M. Lindsay.

APPENDIX II.

THE *SUREXIT* MEMORANDUM.

The oldest known piece of written Welsh is the second entry on p. 141 of the Book of St. Chad. A reduced facsimile of the page appears herewith; the original measures about 12 inches by 9, but the small plate will enable the reader to follow the argument. The block was made from an untouched photograph of the page kindly sent me for the purpose by the Dean of Lichfield. Large collotype facsimiles of the page are given in Evans and Rhys's *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. xliii, and in Lindsay's *Early Welsh Script*, p. 46.

I.

The manuscript contains the Gospels in Latin, written in a large half-uncial hand. Palaeographers are not agreed as to its date. The Palaeographical Society editors date it "about 700." E. Heinrich Zimmermann, in his *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen*, Berlin, 1916 (4 vols. plates folio, 1 vol. text 8vo, of which there is a copy at the Bodleian) dates it "second quarter of the 8th century." But Dr. H. M. Bannister, of the Bodleian, to whom I am indebted for this information, finds himself "very frequently at variance" with the datings of Zimmermann, who goes by miniatures, "which often slavishly imitate the exemplar before the copyist." Professor Lindsay agrees that Zimmermann's datings are unreliable. In his *Early Welsh Script*, p. 3, he inclines to an early date: and, though he clearly regards it as improbable, he does not absolutely exclude the possibility of the MS. being referred "to Teilo's time"—Teilo died about 580. The fact is, the Insular scribes, when they had definitely arrived at their beautiful half-uncial hand, preserved it with great conservatism for a long period; and it is acknowledged that the study of these early Insular MSS. is only in its initial stage, so that no one can dogmatize about them. There is satisfactory historical evidence that the Book of Lindisfarne was written about 700; but the Book of St. Chad, though the hand is similar, seems to belong to an earlier generation. I have examined facsimiles of its pages in the *Book of Llan Dâv*, in Dr. Scrivener's *Codex S. Ceaddae Latinus*, and the Dean of Lichfield's *Story of St. Chad's Gospels*, and I have found no example of the *n*-like *r* which is common in the Book of Lindisfarne, and is shown in the facsimile on p. 134 above. The *r* of the Book of St. Chad is the uncial R, or, rarely, the sprawling form r, as in *petuar* and *tricet* in the above inscription, side 4, p. 260; this form is found on the early 7th century stone of Catamanus

(Cadfan ap Iago, see p. 266), and is common in sixth century MSS. The clubbed tops of strokes are perfectly flat in the Book of St. Chad, but in the Book of Lindisfarne they tend to incline upwards, sometimes presenting a saw-like appearance like the top serifs of old-face type, see *Facsimiles of Biblical MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*, plate xi. Clearly the Book of St. Chad is earlier than the Book of Lindisfarne, but how much it does not seem possible yet to determine.

II.

The Welsh entries were written in the MS. when it was at Llandaff. It has been in the possession of the Church of Lichfield since the episcopate of Wynsige, 974-992; and his signature, "† Wynsige presul," on page 1, "most probably," as the Dean suggests, "marks the reception of the book," op. cit., p. 11.

Page 141 contains the last words of St. Matthew's Gospel, set by the original scribe in the middle of the page, with a border, as seen in our plate. The first entry on the page records the gift of the book to Llandaff. It reads thus:

> Ostenditur híc quod emit + gelhi + filius · arihtind · hóc euange
> lium · de cingal · et dedit · illi *pro* illo equm optimum · et dedit
> *pro* anima sua istum euangelium · d*e*o et s*anct*i teliaui · super altare
> + gelhi + filius · Arihtiud . ., . ., et + cíncénn + filius · gripiud . . ,

'It is shown here that Gelhi son of Arihtiud bought this Gospel from Cingal, and gave him for it a "best horse", and gave for his soul's sake this Gospel to God and St. Teliau[1] upon the altar.

(Witnesses:) Gelhi son of Arihtiud . . . and Cincenn son of Gripiud. . .'

The hand in which this deed of gift is written is similar to that of the Bodleian Liber Commonei, dated 817, and was therefore assigned by Bradshaw, doubtless correctly, to about the same date. The *Surexit* entry, which follows, was assumed by him to be later, though the hand has all the appearance of being much older. The ð at the end of the agreement means, according to Professor Lindsay, op. cit. p. 46, 'deest', and refers to the obelus mark before the continuation

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[1] Taking the genitive to be an error for the dative, as otherwise the *et* connects dissimilar terms, and the order of words is improbable in Latin of this late date.

consisting of the names of the witnesses near the bottom of the page, for which there was no room above the text. The Anglo-Saxon names which crowd the bottom of the page around this part of our memorandum belong of course to the Lichfield period. The memorandum reads as follows:

> Surexit tutbulc fili*us* liuit hagener tutri dierchim · tir telih · haioid ilau
> elcu fili*us* gelhig haluidt iuguret amguca^n^t pel amtanndi ho dined
> diprotant gener tutrí o guir imguodant ir degion guragun tagc
> rodesit elcu guetig eq*us* tres uache, tres uache nouidligi na*m* ir
> ni be câs igridu dimedichat guetig hit did braut grefiat gue
> tig nis minn tutbulc hai cenetl i*n* ois oisou ð
>
> † teliau t' gurgint t' cinhilinn t' sps t', tota familia teliaui, delaicis
> numin m' aidan, t' sígnou m' iacou t' berthutis t' cinda t' q*uicum*q*ue* custo
> dierit benedict*us* er*it*, q*uicum*q*ue* frangerit maladict*us* er*it* ȝ"—

Which may be rendered thus (the numbers in brackets refer to the notes):

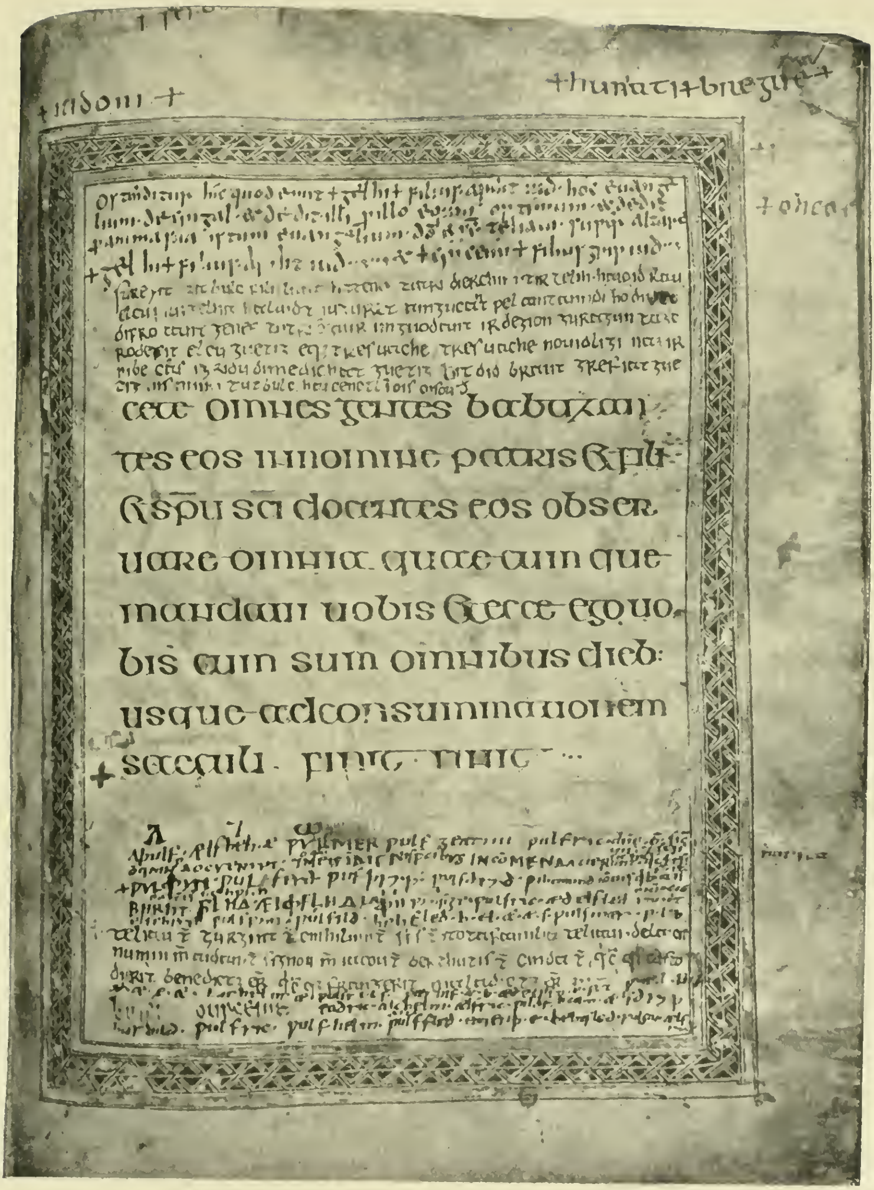
> Tutbulc*h* son of Liuit and son-in-law of Tutri arose to claim the land of Telich, which was (1) in the hand (2) of Elcu son of Gelhig and the tribe of Iu*d*gu*o*ret. They contended (3) long (4) about it (5). At last they dispossess (6) the son-in-law of Tutri of [his] right (7). The goodmen (8) besought (9) one another, "Let us make (10) peace". Elcu afterwards gave (11) a horse, three cows (12), three newly-calved (13) cows, only (14) that there might be (15) no hatred (16) between them (17) from [his] possession (18) afterwards till (19) the day of doom. Tutbulc*h* and his people will require afterwards no title for ever (20).
>
> † Teliau witness, Gurgint witness, Cinhilinn witness, Spiritus witness, etc.

NOTES.

(1) *haioid*, see my *Gram.*, p. 287; also above pp. 180, 189; medieval *a oeð* 'which was'.

(2) *ilau*; the *i* is not the modern *i* 'to', which is *di* in Old Welsh; if *i* is not for *ī* (i.e. *in*) as in line 6, it may be that *ilau* is for *il-lau*, with assimilation of *n* to *l*, as to *m* in *ymyun* (*m*=*mm*), see *Gram*, p. 416; *l* for *ll*, see note 4. The form *lau* shows that final *v* had disappeared in the earliest period after *w*, though it is still preserved medially where *o* takes the place of *aw*, as in *llof-rudd* 'red-handed'.

(3) *amgucant* is doubtless the medieval *amugant* 'they contended'; the *g* represents inorganic γ, as in *petguar*, see above p. 265,



The Book of St. Chad, p. 141.

which might come even before vocalic *u* (of either sound) as in *Catguc* Book of Llan Daf, 161. Rhys's explanation of the verb as *amguocan-t*, 3rd sg. aorist of *am-o-gan* (*gogan*), Book of Llan Daf, p. xliv, is not only improbable in meaning (*gogan* is 'satire, slander', etc.), but involves the improbabilty that *-ant* here is not the same as in the next line.

(4) *pel*, medieval and modern *pell* 'far', used of time, as still in *bellach* 'henceforth', as pointed out by Rhys; cf. Breton *pell a zo* 'il y a longtemps'; *l* is regularly used for *ll* in Old Welsh, cf. above p. 134, fn. 2.

(5) *amtanndi*; Rhys notes that *tir*, now mas. might have been fem. also, since it was originally neut. The *d* is not used in the medieval and modern inflexion of *tan*, but there is no reason why it should not have been used once with all prepositions. The *nn* is written because the syllable is closed by the two consonants *nδ*. (As noted above, p. 263, *nitanam* is probably the form of the *first* person, in which *d*=δ is not used at all).

(6) *diprotant*. Rhys has no note on this word. It might be for *dipriotant* from *priawt*, from Latin *prīvātus*; but the omission of the *i* makes this doubtful. It is more probably a compound of *brawd* 'judgement', which has given *difrodi* 'to despoil'; we have seen that the initial might have been doubled after *di-*, see p. 214, note on l. 17, and double *b* would become *p*, now *b*, as in *aber*, etc., *Gram.*, p. 132.

(7) *gwir* as a noun was used in the sense of 'right, justice', e.g. *kedwis gwir y dir ae deyrnged*, *Myv.* 248 b 33, 'he kept his right to his land and his tribute', cf. 238 a 27, B.B. 68·1; *dycot brennhin Morcannhuc . . . . dy gunethur guir ha cyfreith* B. L. D. 120 'the king of Morgannwg shall come to do justice and right'. In Breton *gwir* noun means "droit, prétention fondée", Troude, s.v.

(8) *degion* 'goodmen', pl. of *da*, originally *daγ* 'good'. This pl. is written *deon* in B.T. 33·21, see above p. 198. The *ir* is the definite article.

(9) *imguodant*. Rhys "with much hesitation" connected this with *dy-wed-af* 'I say'. It is certain that the *d* cannot stand for modern *d*, but must mean modern δ. The stem of *gweδ-i* 'prayer' is **gwoδ-* (cognate with Gk. ποθέω, *Gram.* p. 130), and seems to fit here. cf. Eng. *pray*, *prithee*. The prefix *im-* is reflexive.

(10) *guragun* 'let us make.' The old form of the stem *gwna-* of *gwnâf* 'I make, do' is *gwraγ-* (cognate with Eng. *work*, Gk. ἔργον); the *r* remained in Cornish and Breton, but it became *n* early in Welsh, and we appear to have here the only trace of *r* except perhaps in the old perfect *guoreu* and possibly in Early Welsh forms *gwrith*, *gwreith*

copied by scribes who did not understand them ; see *Gram.*, pp. 152, 367.

(11) *rodesit*, old extended form of the 3rd sg. aorist active ; elsewhere it occurs only as a poetical archaism, *Gram.*, p. 326, ii (5).

(12) *uache ; ch* here=*cc*, and *e*=*ae*. The word is the Latin *vaccae*.

(13) *nouidligi*. The Welsh *llo* 'calf' is for **lloe* (*Gram.* § 78 i (1)), which represents original **logi̯-*, although the Irish *lōeg* implies **loig-*. The form **newyδlo* would be an adjective like the modern *cyflo* 'with calf', and its pl. **newyδly* (to agree with *vaccae*) is represented regularly by *nouidligi*. The final *-i* cannot be the verbal noun ending, which was **-iv*, written *-im*, as in *erchim*, line 1.

(14) *nam*, with the vertical contraction for *m*, is doubtless itself a conventional suspension of *nammuin*, as in *nam seith*, B.T. 54·24, for *namyn seith* 55·7·12, etc. Though used literally in one of our poems, see p. 186, Irish shows that the word meant 'only' from the earliest times. The meaning here seems to be that he 'only' did it for peace' sake.

(15) *ir ni be*; *ir* is the preposition *yr*, now *er*, used with *ni* as a conjunction 'so that not'; *be* is for *bei*, 3rd sg. imperf. subjunctive, since *e* seems to be the oldest spelling of the diphthong *ei*, see p. 169, last line, p. 263, note on *celen*, and cf. *F.A.B.* ii, 2·7·8, *per*, *couer* for *peir*, *coueir* rhyming with *meir*. Cf. also *Teliau* for *Teiliau*, now *Teilo*.

(16) *câs ;* the small circumflex is in the original ink ; perhaps it is meant for the ordinary accent ′; in any case it seems to show that a vowel was lengthened before *s* in a monosyllable at this early period.

(17) *igridu* 'between them'; see *Gram.*, p. 405.

(18) *di medichat*; the *di* here is 'from' representing original **dē*; in the old spelling it cannot be distinguished from *di* 'to', from original **do*. Rhys has gone seriously wrong in analysing *medichat* as *meδic* 'medicus' + *hat* which he confesses should be *-hagat* at this period; 'reconciliation' from *medicus* is rather far-fetched as well. The root appears to be **med-* 'to enjoy, possess'; whence a verb-stem *meδych-* (cf. *heδychu* from *heδ*); whence the abstract noun *meδychad*, spelt *medichat* 'possession' (Modern Welsh *meddu* 'to possess', *meddiant* 'possession').

(19) *hit*. The shaft is that of *h*, not *b* ; whether the completion of the circle was intentional (to make *bet*, which is synonymous) or not, the scribe seems to have decided for *hit*. The Dean (in a letter) writes, "In the same heavier ink" [which appears when he dips his pen] "he (I suppose it is the original scribe) has touched up the sides of the first letter of *hit*, but not the cross filling stroke at the bottom, as though he desired to emphasise that the letter was intended for an *h*, not a *b*."

(20) *in ois oisou.* It is interesting to note that the Biblical *yn oes oesoedd* is so ancient a translation of *in saecula saeculorum.* The old pl. of *oes* was *oisou*, which appears as *oesseu* in the Book of Taliesin: *oes oesseu* 15·15, *yn oes oesseu* 19·9, quoted above, p. 184. The latter is the exact expression used here; and if it occurred only in the poem, it might have been taken to be comparatively late.

t' = *testis*; *m'* = *map* 'son'. I have used the apostrophe to denote the contraction mark above the letter.

Proper names.—It is to be noted first that the name *Gelhig* occurs both in the deed of gift and in the *Surexit* entry, and has the older form with final *g*, in the *latter*. Rhys is strangely puzzled by this name, but its composition seems quite clear. As *l* stands for *ll*, the first element seems to be *Gell-*, which is seen as the second element in *Anda-gelli* (on the Gelli Dywyll stone, Rhys, *W. Ph.*, p. 388), meaning unknown; and the second is *hig*, Modern Welsh *hy* 'bold' from **segos* (cognate with Gk. ἔχω, Skr. *sáhaḥ* 'might', etc.), which occurs as the first element in the Gaulish Σεγο-μαρος, *Sego-vellauni*, etc.

While γ, written *g*, appears finally after short *i* (modern *y*) in Early Welsh, there is no trace of it anywhere after long *ī* (modern *i*) as in *rhi* 'king' from *rīg-* (cognate with Lat. *rēg-*), because the quality of the long *i* was different, being more close, and the *g* did not become γ, but consonantal *i*, which was merged in the *i* before it. Hence we have *Tut-ri* here from *Teuto-rīg-*.

El-cu is an Irish name, which appears also as *El-con*, and later in a Welsh form *El-ci*, see the index of B. L. D. The second element is *cū* 'hound', stem *con*, Welsh *ci*.

Gurgint is in Modern Welsh *Gwrin*. The name occurs as *Guurgint Barmbtruch* in the Welsh genealogies, *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. p. 178. There is a *Tref-wrin* or *Wrinston* near Cardiff, and a St. Gwrin is the patron of Llanwrin, Montgomeryshire, *Lives of Brit. Saints*, iii, 208.

Cinhilinn is the Irish name *Cūchulinn*, with the stem *Con-* instead of the nominative *Cū-* of the first element. The name usually occurs in Welsh as *Cuhelyn* (*Cuhelin* B.B. 9·9). In B. L. D., p. 76, is a document witnessed by Dubricius "cum clericis suis Vbeluino, Merchguino, Cuelino"; of these three the second, if not the first, became a cleric at Llandaff under Teilo, with others, of whom Cuelinus may be our Cinhilinn.

Numin? modern *Nefyn*. *Aidan* is the Irish name. *Signou* has the common element *-gnou*, also appearing as *-gnoe*, and in Modern Welsh *-no*, as in *Tud-no*, *Mach-no*, etc. *Cinda* looks like an Irish name; a document of the time of Teilo's successor Oudoceus is witnessed by a layman *Condaf*, in which the *-f*, which cannot in any case be old, seems to be the addition of the compiler, B. L. D., p. 140.

Names in the deed of gift: *Arihtiud*; it is difficult to explain the first *i* except as the silent *i* between spirants, see p. 165, note on l. 22 *gollychynt*; if so *ht* is the spirant *th* (written *dt* in *luidt* in the *Surexit* entry, l. 2), and the first element is *Arth-*; the second is *iud*, modern *uδ*, as in *Gripiud* now *Gruffuδ*; thus the name would now be *Arthuδ*.—*Cingal* may be an error for *Cingual*, modern *Cynwal*.—*Cincenn*, see above, p. 262. As both *Cincenn* and *Gripiud* are quite common names, it is absurd to assume that this *Cincenn ap Gripiud* is related to the *Griphiud ap Cincen* who died, according to the Annales, in 814, and especially to imagine that in that case they would be likely to be contemporaries.

III.

As the Welsh entries were presumably written after the presentation of the MS. to the Church of Llandaff, it was natural to assume that the deed of gift is older than the *Surexit* memorandum which follows it on the page. Bradshaw, dated the former early ninth, and the latter tenth century, *Collected Papers*, p. 460. Dr. Evans suggested that the memorandum is a *copy* of a document of Teilo's time, B.L.D., 1893, p. xliv. Seebohm, in his *Tribal System in Wales*, 1895, p. 182, suggests that Gelhi of the deed of gift may be the same person as Gelhig of the *Surexit* entry, whose son held the land claimed by Tutbulch. In that case, of course, the document is centuries later than Teilo; and the witness "Teliau" is "the saint long at rest," just as "Deus omnipotens" is a witness to other deeds in the MS., *Trib. Syst.*, p. 179. Bradshaw's "tenth century" is rather late even in this case, and Seebohm can only suggest that "the second record may have been written after the transaction," p. 182, where "after" must mean anything from 60 to 100 years after!

Professor Lindsay, in his *Early Welsh Script*, 1912, pp. 2, 3, ventured to differ from the authorities, and to suggest that the *Surexit* entry is older than the deed of gift, "and that on three grounds: (1) the appearance of the ink, (2) the script, (3) its position on the page." The first ground is inconclusive, for later insertions in MSS. often appear older than the original writing, simply because the ink is of a poorer quality. On the second Professor Lindsay says: "The validity of the second will, I fancy, be admitted at once; for these rude majuscule letters have a far older appearance than the minuscules of the deed of gift." He adds, p. 3, "Certainly the script is, to my mind, exactly the kind of script that would be likely to be used at a quite early time." This seems to me incontestable. The *r* in the *Surexit* entry is the majuscule R throughout; there is no trace of the *n*-like *r*, either short or with produced stroke as in the *Ostenditur* of the deed of gift; the *s* is the tall ſ, as in the Book

of Lindisfarne, see facsimile above, p. 131, and rarely in the Book of St. Chad,—not the ninth and tenth century *p* form; and the *f* is distinctly antique. The difficulty is to understand why Bradshaw dated this hand *tenth* century.

As to the argument from the position of the entry on the page, Professor Lindsay invites his readers "to imagine for themselves the appearance presented by the page before any entries were made on it, and consider what particular part the writer of the earliest entry would probably choose. He would not be hampered by want of space; the whole page, with the exception of the middle portion lay blank before him. . . . Would he not then plant it exactly where the *Surexit tutbulc*, etc., has been planted, with the record itself above, and the witnesses' signatures below the already occupied middle portion?" This is not in itself convincing; but it becomes more so when we ask the supplementary question, Would the scribe, with all the space available within the border, be likely to crowd his entry at the very top, as the deed of gift is crowded?

On the supposition of the priority of the *Surexit* entry there remains the difficulty as to how it can have been written *before* the book was presented to the Church. Professor Lindsay suggests that "dedit" is used for "restituit"—the deed records its restoration to the Church; and he refers to other examples of "gift" being used instead of "restoration" in such entries in MSS. Still, this is at least a little improbable. A much more likely explanation seems to me to be that the deed of gift is not the original deed but a *copy* of it. This supposition solves the difficulties in the simplest possible way: it is consistent with the *original* deed of gift being older than the *Surexit* entry, however old that may be; and it accounts for the deed as we have it being in a much later hand than that entry.

I had arrived at this point in my attempt to solve the riddle of these entries when I wrote to the Dean of Lichfield, the Very Reverend H. E. Savage, D.D., who has been at work on the MS., briefly stating the problem as it presented itself to me; he very kindly sent me with his reply a copy of his valuable paper, *The Story of St. Chad's Gospels*, 17 pp. large quarto, with six plates, contributed to the *Transactions of the Birmingham Archaeological Society* in February 1915. In this paper he contests Professor Lindsay's theory; he holds, rightly, that the appearance of the ink is "quite inconclusive"; as to the position on the page, he says that "opinions may differ rather widely on a probability of this kind"; and with regard to the script, Bradshaw's "verdict carries too much weight to be lightly set aside", especially as Professor Lindsay adduces no evidence in support of his view. Evidence as to the antiqueness of the script is, however, not lacking; and the entry contains not only the older spelling *Gelhig* of this

name, but archaic forms which we can hardly admit to have been even copied in the tenth century, knowing as we do the modernising habits of Welsh scribes. I communicated to the Dean the conclusions to which I had come with regard to the script and language; and pointed out that Professor Lindsay had not used the strongest argument in respect of position on the page. If the deed of gift had already been on the page, filling the whole space between the left and right borders, the writer of the *Surexit* entry underneath it would almost certainly have followed his lead, and commenced his lines in the very margin; and the fact that he begins just about the same distance from the margin as the half-uncial text must mean that there was nothing but that text on the page when he wrote his entry. It seemed to me that the scribe of this entry had used the vertical stilus rule made by the scribe of the text to mark the beginning of his lines, but that the scribe of the entry began his lines just outside the rule, and the original scribe just inside it. The Dean examined the MS. and found that the rule extends down as far as the *s* of *saeculi* in the last line of the text, and no further. This explains why *telian* below the text, is a little nearer the margin than the upper part of the entry—the scribe had nothing to guide him there. The Dean examined the MS. again under favourable conditions; and found that the stilus line "extended upwards to the first line of the *Surexit* entry, but not above that apparently. The top of it is traceable between the *S* and the *u* of *Surexit* running parallel with the down stroke of the *S*." He confirmed this later in words which I take the liberty of quoting: "I feel quite sure that this is so; for I had the verification of other eyes besides my own: and amongst them the keen sight of a Rossall boy who was present when I examined the MS. He could see clearly without a magnifying glass what I (and others) could only make certain of with that aid. And he was positive that there was no trace of the rule to be seen above that point. Now that seems to me to account for the position on the page adopted by the scribe for the commencement of his entry. He began at the top of the stilus mark, although it did not leave room before the lines of the Gospel text for the whole of his record." I think it will be agreed that this is quite conclusive. It shows exactly why the *Surexit* scribe began where he did; he did not begin there because another entry had already been crowded in at the top, but that entry was crowded in at the top because he had begun there.

It is now clear why the scribe of the deed of gift spread his entry across the whole space between the borders: there was no stilus rule to mark off the margin, and his space was limited. It had occurred to me, as above noted, that he was merely *copying* the

original deed The Dean agrees; it occurred to him too, apart from my suggestion, which he had forgotten at the time. He writes: "It has the appearance of being an abbreviated extract. The dots after *Arihtiud* and after *Gripiud* in the last line suggest this. And the full account of the gift, with the names of *all* the witnesses, may well have been written at the end of the book, as a kind of colophon, in what was afterwards, at any rate, bound as a second volume that was still extant when the Sacrist's roll at Lichfield was drawn up in 1345. The end of St. Matthew's Gospel does not seem to be an appropriate position for such a record of the coming of the Codex into the possession of the Church of Llandaff. And the statement has every appearance of referring to the original gift, rather than to the restoring of a lost MS." It seems strange that the significance of the dots and commas after the names of the only two witnesses mentioned suggested itself to no one before; it is one of those illuminating discoveries which are obvious when made and decisive in their implications.

I think, therefore, that it may be said that the priority of the *Surexit* entry has been proved beyond a doubt. The question of the date of the entry remains. The script is clearly removed by a whole period from the early ninth-century minuscules above it; I am unable to guess what late symptoms Bradshaw imagined in it; it seems old-fashioned even for the eighth century, for while majuscule forms continued in use in formal writing, the entire absence of minuscule *r*, for example, in the careless ordinary hand of this entry is hardly conceivable at that time. In the present state of our knowledge of early Insular script it does not seem possible to say more than that the entry is probably, as suggested in *Early Welsh Script*, p. 3, a very early copy. On the question whether it is the original document or a copy, Professor Lindsay sends me the following note: "A faint indication that the Teilo entry is a copy of the original is the abbreviation er̄ 'erit'. This unusual symbol would naturally be used only if the scribe were pressed for space. Now there is space and to spare on the page of the St. Chad book. (This I mention in my *Notae Latinae*, p. 340.)" To this one may perhaps add that the vertical zigzag contraction of *m* was normally used only at the end of a line where there was no room for the wide ordinary *m*; but in our entry it occurs in *nam* in line 4 before the end of the line, where there was plenty of room for the *m*. Taken together, these peculiarities of abbreviation furnish strong presumptive evidence that the entry is a copy.

The assumption that the witness Teliau is "the saint long at rest" is only rendered necessary by the supposition that the entry is the original document. The manuscript itself is probably

later than Teilo's time, belonging perhaps to the middle of the following century; and if the entry is a contemporary record of the agreement, Teliau could not be a witness to it in the flesh. If, on the other hand, the entry is a copy, it may just as well be a copy of a document of Teilo's time as a copy of a later document. The assumption that the witness is "the saint long at rest" is not inherently probable; there is no analogy to it, for "Deus omnipotens testis" cannot seriously be held to be an exact analogy. In fact "Spiritus testis" occurs in this very list, where "Spiritus" is doubtless the Holy Spirit. Not a single example has been adduced of the name of a dead saint being invoked as witness to a deed, as the name of the Deity is invoked. On the other hand deeds or copies of deeds existed at Llandaff in the twelfth century in which the living Teliau's name heads the list of witnesses; it appears as "Teliaus archieps" B. L. D., 121, 122, or "scs Teliaus", p. 126, or "archieps Teliaus", p. 127, the "archieps" and "scs" having obviously been added by the compiler. Now that of which examples can be cited must be admitted to be more probable than that for which it can only be said that "it might have been"; and in this case I think it may be affirmed that but for supposed difficulties of date no one would have thought of suggesting that *Teliau* in the list of witnesses is not what it seems to be. The copy is a more faithful one than those in the B. L. D.: the name is *Teliau* simply—not "*sanctus* Teliaus"; there is no suggestion that it is an invocation of the sainted patron—it is surely more like a copy of the signature of the living man.

If the MS. was written in the seventh century the Gelhi who presented it to Llandaff cannot, of course, be the same person as the Gelhig who is the father of Elcu, one of the parties to the dispute in Teilo's time. But he may have been a descendant of Elcu, the name Gelhig running in the family; and the original deed may have been in his possession; it would be his title to the land. In that case it is conceivable that he may have had the deed copied into the book even before he gave it to the Church. Indeed, there appears to be no particular reason why the Church authorities should inscribe it there: it concerns no property of theirs, and they had plenty of documents under Teilo's hand of more interest to them. But it is easy to understand why an abbreviated copy of the deed of gift should be entered above it later; this shows that the book was the gift of Gelhi, and so explains the appearance on the page of a copy of a title-deed belonging to him. Seebohm points out that there is a Telich in Gower, B. L. D. 239; but as there was at least one other Telich, ib. 125, 255, it is not certain that this is the one meant. The claimant, Tutbulch son of Liuit,

seems to have lived in Monmouthshire; as Seebohm points out, in a record probably of between 961 and 967, Morgan Hen is said to *restore* to Llandaff territories belonging to it in the time of Dubricius, Teilo and Oudoceus. Amongst these is "Machumur, i.e., Lann Liuit", its boundary reaching "across to Is Guaessaf of Lignallaun, son of Tutbulch", ib. 241. Here we have the names of Tutbulch and Liuit; and Lann Liuit belonged to Llandaff in the sixth century. It adjoined land belonging to a son of Tutbulch. Lann Liuit was, of course, the ecclesiastical name; such names usually date from the foundation or dedication (in this case probably under Dubricius, from the position near Llanvaenor), so that we may conclude that the place was called after a sixth century Liuit. I am not aware of the occurrence of the name Liuit except in this ancient place-name and in our entry. The founder of Lann Liuit seems to be the only Liuit known; it is therefore reasonable to suppose that the claimant Tutbulch ap Liuit was his son, and hence a contemporary of Teilo. Lignallaun ap Tutbulch owned land bordering on Lann Liuit; his name had become traditional when the boundary was drawn out at the restoration in 961-7; he cannot therefore be Ringuallaun ap Tutbulch, ib. 264, who was living in the reign of Rhydderch ap Iestyn, 1023-33. It need not be assumed that Lignallaun is an error—*l* and *r* are not easily confused; the first element of his name is the same as that of Liuit's; this would be natural if he were his grandson. Lastly we have seen that two of the witnesses, one cleric and one layman, may possibly be identified with a clerical and a lay witness of other deeds of the same period; but I do not think that any one of the names can with the least likelihood be identified with any name in the later records of Llandaff.

The probability, then, is that this entry is a copy of a document of Teilo's time. There would be a reason for its being in Welsh: the parties to the agreement would probably not understand Latin. If this is so the view maintained above as to the vernacular of the period needs no other proof; the language of the sixth century was identical with that of the Taliesin poems.

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

Page 1, line 11 of text; for skeleten read skeleton

Page 6, fn. This footnote is perfectly correct as far as it goes: but a closer examination of the poem clearly reveals the metrical scheme. The first twenty lines are of 9 syllables each, forming "cyhydedd naw ban", in stanzas of 4, 2, 5, 5, 4 lines respectively; see *F.A.B.*, ii, pp. 3, 4. These are followed by a stanza of "gwawdodyn byr" consisting of two lines of 9 and a "cyhydedd hir" unit of 19. It is in the middle of this stanza that the supposed "change of metre at 4·7" occurs. But the stanza is immediately followed by a similar one of two 9's and 19. This is followed by five units of "cyhydedd hir". Thus the poem begins in the metre "cyhydedd naw ban" and ends in "cyhydedd hir", the transition from the one to the other being smoothly made by two stanzas of "gwawdodyn byr" which is a standard metre consisting of a familiar combination of the two.

Page 22, line 4; for Sainsbury read Saintsbury

Page 30, line 1; though, etc. The second alternative is far less likely than the first. The false concords quoted on this page are much more naturally explained by the supposition that the inscribers had no consciousness of the difference in form between the nominative and genitive. In later inscriptions *-i* is added even to consonant stems in the nominative as in *crux Salvatoris quae preparavit Samsoni Apati . . . pro anima Iuthahelo Rex* (see *Arch. Camb.* 1899, p. 148), by which is meant *quam preparavit Samson Abbas . . . pro anima Iuthaheli Regis*. It is admitted that this is merely bad Latin: I maintain that that is the only sensible explanation of similar phenomena in earlier inscriptions. And it shows not merely that the inscribers confused Latin declensions, but that they had lost the sense of distinctions of case.

Page 32, line 3; for depised read despised

Page 32, line 25; for *tataguen* read *tat aguen*
When this sheet was printed off I had not seen the photograph from which our frontispiece was made; and I naturally assumed that Mommsen's Tataguen, p. 205, was correct. The frontispiece shows that the MS. has clearly two words *tat aguen*, which is of course right, for the expression is not a compound but a noun with a dependent genitive. Zimmer is not to be trusted in small matters of this kind. There ought to be a diplomatic reproduction of the whole text; this is work that Dr. Evans should do instead of wasting his

time on work for which he is unfitted. I am indebted to Mr. Idris Bell for having the page photographed for me for the purpose of the reproduction.

Page 62, line 14; delete one c in manusccript

Page 70, line 15; Urien had, etc. The reason for associating him with Gower was no doubt the fact that in the French and English romances he is called Uryens or Uryence of Gorre or Gore. The mutilation of Welsh names in the romances does not follow regular phonetic laws; and as *t* is lost before *r* in Breton (e.g. *breur* 'brother'), as in French (e.g. *frère*), the reduction of *Catraeth* to *Gorre* or *Gore* is not a more violent change than, for example, the softening of *Gwalchmei* into *Gawain*. It was natural, and perhaps inevitable, that 15th-century manufacturers of pedigrees should take the *Gore* of the romances to be Gower.

Page 75, line 3; Goðeu a Reget. Mr. Phillimore, in Owen's *Pem.*, part iii, p. 284, writes, "As a man's or woman's name Rheged admits of being derived from a low-Latin form of *Receptus*, *Recepta* (cf. *bedydd* from *baptisma*)". This statement emboldens me to suggest an explanation of the name *Rheged* which I hesitated to insert at the end of this paragraph before it was printed off. I had not seen the above note, in which my idea of the derivation is anticipated and therefore to that extent confirmed.—There was no *pt* in British; original *pt* had become *kt* in Keltic; thus **septm̥* became **sektm̥*, giving Irish *secht*, Welsh *seith* 'seven'. Latin *pt* becomes *fft* in *Eifft* 'Egypt', but generally it was treated as *tt*, a Low Latin form, and *tt* regularly becomes *th*, as in *ysgrythur* from *scriptura*, and *pregeth* from *precepta*. But in Low Latin this *tt* might be simplified, thus *setimus* occurs in the third century for *septimus* (Loth, *Mots Lat.*, p. 124): hence *bedyð* from **baptidio*, and possibly *cyngyd* 'thought' from *conceptio*; thus *Rheged* may be from *receptus*, *recepta*, as suggested by Mr. Phillimore. Now this is the adjective commonly used to describe that part of the Island which lies to the south of the Southern Wall; thus Orosius (quoted by Camden, *Brit.*, 1594, p. 607) writes: "*Receptam partem* insulae a ceteris indomitis gentibus vallo distinguendam putavit (Severus)". Other writers use *receptae provinciae*, see ib., and cf. later editions. Nennius uses the latter expression: "Severus . . . . ut *receptas provincias* ab incursione barbarica faceret tutiores, murum et aggerem a mari usque ad mare . . . deduxit," § 23. The adjective thus used to distinguish the territory defended by the Wall from that beyond it would naturally apply more especially to the district nearest the Wall; it is here that the distinction was chiefly felt; and it may be that *Goðeu* 'the forest', or perhaps 'the wild', denoting the unre-

claimed land beyond the Wall, represented the British antithesis of the *terra recepta* or *tir Rheged.*

Page 77, line 5 from bottom of text; *Eiδin.* This is a late and incorrect form. The earliest example I have found of the mis-pronunciation *Eiδin* occurs in a poem by the fourteenth-century bard Rhisserdyn, *Myv.* 290 b, last line, where he seems to refer to Clydno Eidyn, cf. 291 a. As shown by the spelling *Lliwelyδ* for *Llywelydd*, see above p. 59, the *sounds* of Northern names had become uncertain before that period, and old spellings were often misread.

Page 92, footnote, line 10; for the obscure vowel *e*, written *y* in Welsh. read the obscure vowel *ə*, written *y* in Welsh. This was quite correct in the last proof that left my hands. But the eagle eye of the press corrector saw the inverted *e* and promptly righted it. (Of course, *ə* is the conventional phonetic symbol for the obscure vowel.) I am, however, indebted to him for many small corrections of this kind, all of which, with this exception, were necessary and right.

Page 207, line 4. At the end of this line an r has dropped out during the passage of the sheet through the press: read "toddaid byr" or

Page 210, line 41 of poem, second word. The second bracket enclosing the f has dropped out; read Dy(f)*w*al

Page 212, line 2; for *meδwieth* read *meδweith*

Page 221, fn. 4. Dr. Hugh Williams, *Gildas*, p. 77, sides with Zimmer against Rhys on the ground that *insularis* is probably "intended to wound". But Gildas is not subtle; and however violently he inveighs against Maelgwn, he clearly does not attempt to belittle his power. The meaning of *insularis* must be decided by that of *insula.* Not only is *Ynys* used traditionally in Welsh for Britain, but *insula* was so used in Latin long before Gildas' time, as the quotation from Orosius in the above note on Goδeu a Reget shows. Gildas uses it in no other sense: in fact, Dr. Williams himself affirms that *insula* "in Gildas has no meaning except Britain", p. 48. If Gildas' *insula* always means 'Britain', I submit that his *insularis* must mean 'British'. Clearly *insularis draco* is only Gildas' bombastic way of saying *dux Britanniarum*; and Rhys shows an insight which Zimmer and Dr. Williams lack when he says that "It was more congenial to" Gildas' "style to describe him in that way than to call him simply *Dux Britanniae*", *Welsh People*, p. 107.

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OF PROPER NAMES.